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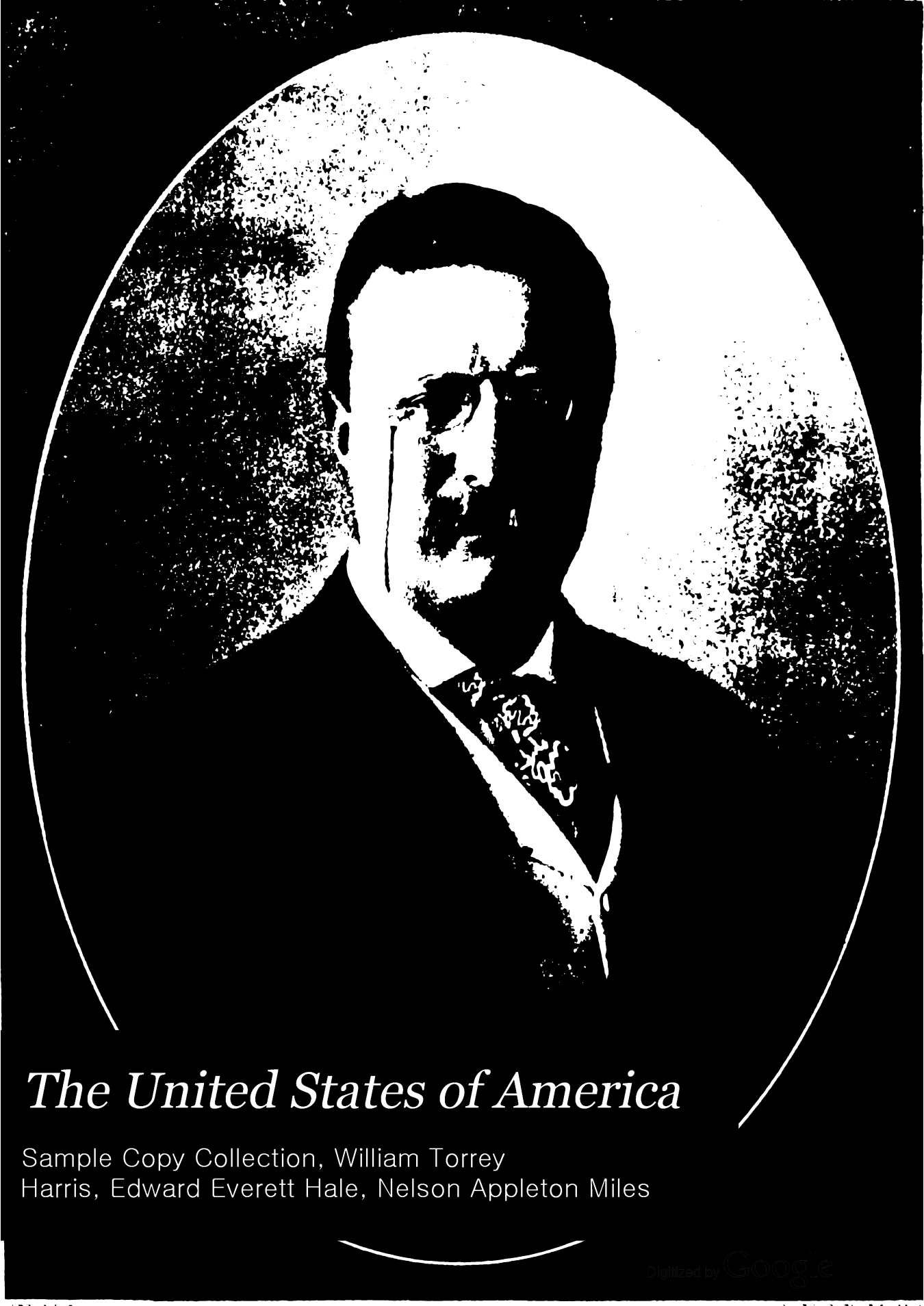

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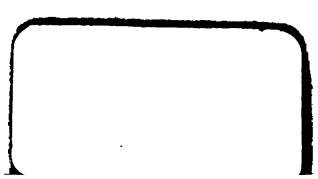

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THE

UNITED STATES

OF

AMERICA

A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NATION FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS TO THE PRESENT TIME

+654

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COMPLETE IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. V.

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THE PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WAR.

WHEN a great war is waged by people of the same race, both contending forces believing their cause to be just, both actuated by the desire to maintain principles handed down to them by their fathers, both defending inherited rights, the contest must of necessity be most intense.

The great Civil War, lasting for four long years, drenched the soil with the best blood of our people. Hundreds of thousands of the very flower of American manhood went to untimely graves. The sacrifice brought sorrow and mourning to nearly every home in our land. It involved the vital principles of government, the most important interests of mankind, and the greatest problem of ancient or modern times. The theater of war covered a quarter of a continent, and the final results have been more beneficent, far-reaching, and glorious than those derived from any single achievement in human history.

In looking for the causes of that internecine struggle, we must go back more than three centuries, to the time when Charles the Fifth granted a patent to a Flemish merchant to import 4,000 African captives into the American colonies and barter them for money or merchandise. Fourteen were landed at Jamestown, Va., in 1619, against the earnest protest of Captain Miles Kendall, then Deputy Governor of the Colony. From that time the importation of African slaves was carried on along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts for more than 200 years. In the early history of this iniquitous traffic the Northern colonies were as much concerned and as deeply engaged, if not more so, than those of the South; yet, when it ceased to be profitable and became antagonistic to the interests of free labor of the North, it was discontinued there. It still flourished in the more congenial climate of the Southern states, where African labor was supposed to be essential in cultivating and marketing the great products of that section.

In the progress of the development of our country there were created what might be called two civilizations—one that of the Puritans in the North, and the other that of the Chevaliers in the South. The Puritans, dwelling in the more rigorous climate of the North, were positive in their convictions, industrious, frugal, and strong in their mental and physical development. In the South there was a courteous, chivalrous, brave people, devotedly attached to their traditions and customs, and proud of their ancestry and of their achievements.

The two elements were united in all interests except one. Side by side they fought from the pine forests of the North to the palms and cypress of the South to establish their independence. Washington, Henry, Jefferson, Morgan, Lee, John Paul Jones, and

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Decatur were the compatriots of Hancock, Warren, Adams, Trumbull, Putnam, Hamilton, and Starke.

In the subsequent war fought under Perry, Jackson, Scott, and others, for the maintenance of the Republic, as well as to establish our position upon the seas, there was still a united country.

In the war with Mexico, the troops under Scott, Taylor, Worth, and Houston were drawn from the Northern and Southern states, and they shared equally the sacrifice and glory on every field in that eventful and brilliant campaign.

The same may be said of the almost continuous wars on the frontier. From the earliest establishment of our settlements up to the time of the great civil contest, the strong, brave men of our country had been skilled in the art of war against a wily, adroit, enterprising foe, in every valley and on every mountain crest, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis were both officers in the Blackhawk War, and the prominent leaders in both the great armies of the Civil War had had years of experience in molding, organizing, instructing, and disciplining troops in severe field service.

For seventy years the question of the existence and extension of the institution of slavery had been agitated from every possible point of view in the press, the pulpit, the forum, the legislative halls, and in conventions. Had the wise admonitions and example of Washington, the far-seeing statesmanship of Jefferson, and the profound wisdom of Franklin prevailed, the evil would have been removed and the terrible Civil War of America would have had no place in history. Yet the arguments, the prayers, and the petitions on the subject were fruitless. The institution grew strong and arrogant. It affected the development, the growth and prosperity of large sections of the country. It pervaded every phase of political life and became the dominant element of contention between the two sections of our country. Following this contention arose the serious question of the right of a state under our Constitution to withdraw from the Federal Government and combine with other states in a separate confederation, dissolving all relationship with the established national government. This question, which had never been definitely determined by judicial decision or by the direct action of the people, was finally left to the dread arbitrament of war.

It seems singular that a people opposed to war, bound together by every kindred tie and the strongest bonds of friendship and mutual interest, could be drawn into such a conflict by the influence of political leaders, or by sentiment and inherited prejudices. Yet such was the fact. All efforts in behalf of compromise, conciliation, and peaceful adjustment were fruitless, and the demon of carnage prevailed against the better judgment of the great mass of the people of both sections. The contest for supremacy between the two political parties was carried on with such systematic organization and with such intense animosity that it developed a spirit that dethroned reason.

The controversy as to whether the institution of slavery should be carried into the Western territories became very serious and resulted in many acts of violence. The election of Abraham Lincoln seemed to indicate that the extension of slavery had reached its limit and that no more states were to be admitted which sanctioned that institution;

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and while it was not the purpose to interfere with the conditions already established in the Southern states, yet the strongest advocates of slavery considered that the time had arrived for dissolving their allegiance to the national government and for establishing a confederacy more in harmony with their cherished institutions and ideas of state sovereignty.

After Mr. Lincoln's election and before his inauguration conventions had met in six states and passed ordinances of secession, led first by South Carolina, then followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.

The wildest excitement prevailed when Mr. Lincoln came to Washington to be inaugurated. It was quite a serious question whether he would be permitted to take the oath of office, yet chiefly through the instrumentality of General Scott (and others) his inauguration was safely accomplished. No better idea can be given of the character of mind and heart of that great man than the words of his first inaugural address. Considering that he had been elected by the sovereign will of the American people as the lawful head of a great nation, his words were conciliatory and full of kindly sentiment. He made a most earnest appeal for peace. In that memorable address he said:

"We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every loving heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when touched again, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Yet his words of wisdom and love were unavailing and war became inevitable.

The control of the Federal Government largely by Southerners had better enabled them to prepare for the contest, so that when the forts and arsenals were seized they found them abundantly supplied with the munitions of war, while those in the Northern states were inadequately equipped. The army, however, had been for years commanded by one of the greatest patriots of the nation, General Scott, a Virginian, with a brilliant and illustrious record, who remained firm in his convictions and who was master of the situation at Washington.

The impending hostilities soon divided the officers of the Army and Navy. Although educated at the same schools, West Point and Annapolis, those from the South resigned their commissions and offered their services to their states. There were, however, some marked exceptions, as in the case of Winfield Scott and George H. Thomas of Virginia, Farragut of Tennessee, and many others.

Not only did the sentiment for states rights prevail in the South, but there was divided sentiment in the North, and it was not until the firing upon Fort Sumter that the war spirit took positive form and brought about definite action. The Southern people were then inflamed with the war spirit, and at the same time the North united in the determination to maintain the supremacy of the general government.

From the time the hostile guns at Sumter thundered the presence of war, until the black-mouthed cannon voiced the glad tidings of peace from the hills of Appomattox there was waged such a desperate and destructive war as has seldom been recorded in history. It was a war of Americans against Americans. It closed with a spirit of mag-

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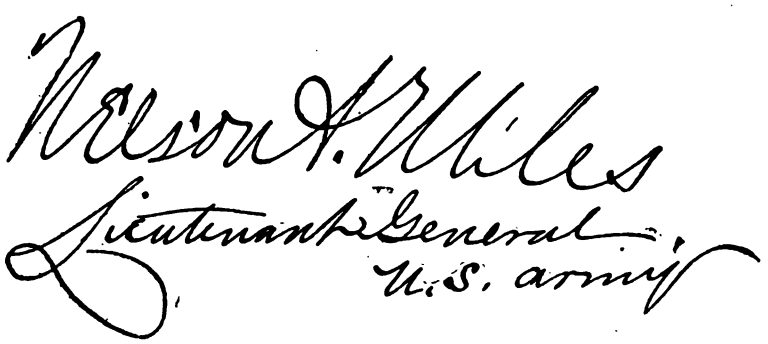
nanimity and generosity characteristic of an honorable and heroic people. The presence of armies and the destructive elements of war had left desolation in their wake, and the manner in which the South by consummate courage and enterprise has arisen from the ashes of destruction was only excelled by its valor on the red fields of war.

The cost of the war to the general government exceeded five billions for the war proper, and over three billions in pensions to June, 1905. The loss to the South was incalculable and no record of this has been preserved. The loss to the nation of a half million of her sons, the strongest and best, was national and irretrievable.

In looking back after years of unprecedented peace and prosperity, what were the results of that terrible fratricidal war? What has been achieved, and what compensation is there for the sacrifice of the people? What are the lasting monuments to their services and their achievements? Is it the gratitude of the people that in time will grow weary? Is it the monuments that we have erected? Not at all; pillars of stone and statues of bronze are perishable and must in time crumble and sink into oblivion. Then what are the living monuments that will endure? One is, that man now enjoys equal rights and justice before the law; another, that universal freedom, education, security, and protection of life and property prevail in every section of our country. A third result is seen in the fact that those who fought have also equally enjoyed the fruits of success, and all are now thoroughly devoted to the welfare and perpetuity of the Federal Government, devoting their best efforts toward maintaining its honor and integrity, and have even recently given a splendid exhibition of loyalty to and pride in it, and steadfastness in upholding the supremacy of its laws. The spirit of nationality, so long in manifesting itself and so slow of growth, contains "promise and potence" of abiding good.

Instead of despotism or anarchy we have as a result this indestructible and imperishable monument of patriotism. We have assured the existence of this great republic and of our sister republics scattered over the entire Western Hemisphere, from the Great Lakes to the extreme southern border of South America. Liberality, humanity, and justice now, more than ever, influence or control the governments of the civilized world.



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CHAPTER I.

FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY, 1897 (CONTINUED)—OUR WAR WITH SPAIN (CONTINUED)—THE CAMPAIGN IN PORTO RICO.

THUS, within the brief space of two months after the first landing of American troops on Cuban soil, the island became a virtual captive of the American forces. True, Havana, the metropolis, had not fallen, for it had not been attacked, and but for events elsewhere there probably would have been a great deal more fighting, but the resistless advance of our forces, land and naval, in different quarters clearly presaged that the inevitable end was near at hand.

Santiago had fallen, Cervera's fleet had been destroyed, and the army and navy in that part of the world now turned their attention to Porto Rico, the other important possession still remaining in the hands of Spain.

To secure this island three expeditions were sent thither. The first, under General Miles, sailed from Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, July 21; the second, including a part of General Brooke's command, left Charleston on the same day with General Ernst as brigade commander; while the third, under General Brooke himself, embarked at Newport News July 26. The total number of troops was some 11,000, all of whom were successfully landed in Porto Rico. General Miles arrived at Guanico early on the morning of July 25. He succeeded in keeping his intended landing-place a secret, for if he had not done so the wide-awake newspaper correspondents would have published it to the world, and the Porto Ricans would have been warned and prepared for the invaders.

Consequently the Spanish forces were surprised, and although they offered resistance several shells from the *Massachusetts*, *Gloucester*, and *Columbia* scattered them, and the *Gloucester*, under our old friend Lieutenant Commander Wainwright, steamed for the port with a party of men, thirty of whom were sent ashore. The Spaniards opened fire, to which the Americans replied with machine-guns and rifles. The enemy stood but a few minutes, when away they ran; and, rowing ashore, the Spanish flag was hauled down from the staff and the Stars and Stripes hoisted in its place. This action, and the cheering which accompanied it, so enraged the Spaniards that they began popping away from behind the corners of houses and from their batteries along shore. Our men threw up an intrenchment across the street, mounted a rapid-fire gun, strung some barbed wire in front, signaled to the fleet for re-enforcements, and began blazing vigorously with their single quick-fire gun. In a brief while five of the enemy were killed, while not an American was scratched.

General Miles now went ashore and superintended the landing of his strong force of troops, which were quickly formed into companies and took commanding positions. They were too powerful for the Spaniards to offer any further opposition, and a detachment was sent to Yauco, a small town five miles inland and the western terminus of the

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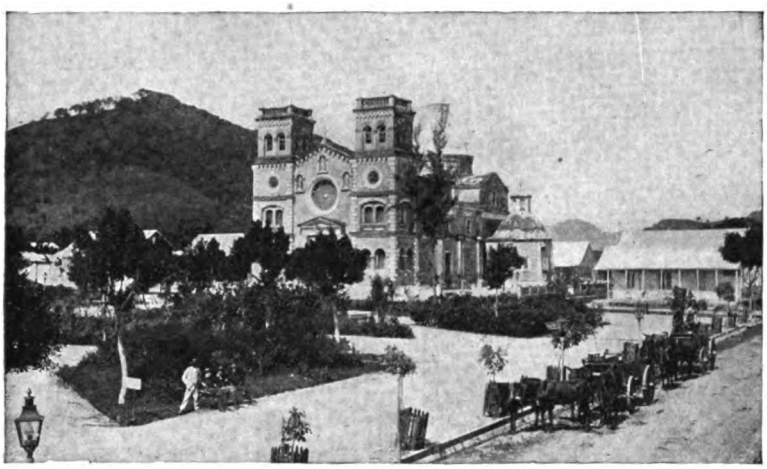
railway connecting with Ponce, fifteen miles to the east. It should be stated that the total strength of General Miles' force was 3415 men, all told.

On the morning of July 28 General Miles marched with his division to Port Ponce. The troops which had left Charleston, as related, arrived there on the same morning and found the port in American control, it having surrendered to Commander C. H. Davis of the gunboat *Dixie* the day before. Strange to say, the people, instead of offering resistance, welcomed the Americans with every sign of pleasure, and amid great rejoicing General Ernst immediately started for the city of Ponce, three miles inland. Upon his appearance the place promptly surrendered, and seemed more delighted than their friends at the port of Ponce.



PLAZA OF GUAYAMA—SOUTH COAST OF PORTO RICO.

The war in Porto Rico has been compared to an opera-bouffe, and in many respects the term is appropriate. The British consul, acting for the Spaniards, turned over the city to General Miles, who was accompanied by General J. H. Wilson, commanding the First Division of the First Army Corps. Nearly all the people remained in the city to welcome the Americans. When Generals Miles and Wilson were driven in a carriage from Port Ponce to Casa del Rey, in the heart of the city proper, they were welcomed by the mayor and British consul. As the two officers stepped from their vehicle, the fire-brigade band which was waiting, drawn up in line in their gorgeous uniforms, played one of Sousa's marches, while it sounded as if the people would split their throats in cheering the officers who passed into the building.

In reply to inquiries, General Miles said that the present officials would be left in charge for a time, but all would be responsible to General Wilson, whom he had appointed military governor. When the officers came out again they were compelled to blush at the enthusiastic welcome that greeted them everywhere. General Miles strengthened his hold upon the volatile people by paying for everything used by the army, renting every building which it was found necessary to occupy, and giving employment to several hundred natives as stevedores.

The general is an officer of excellent judgment and discretion, and won many more friends by issuing the following proclamation:

"In the prosecution of the war against the kingdom of Spain by the people of the

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United States, in the cause of liberty, justice, and humanity, its military forces have come to occupy the island of Porto Rico. They come bearing the banners of freedom, inspired by a noble purpose, to seek the enemies of our government and of yours, and to destroy or capture all armed resistance.

"They bring you the fostering arms of a free people, whose greatest power is justice and humanity to all living within their fold. Hence they release you from your former political relations, and, it is hoped, insure your cheerful acceptance of the government of the United States.

"The chief object of the American military forces will be to overthrow the armed authority of Spain and give the people of your beautiful island the largest measure of liberty consistent with this military occupation. They have not come to make war on the people of the country, who for centuries have been oppressed, but, on the contrary, they bring protection, not only to yourselves, but to your property, promote your prosperity, and bestow the immunities and blessings of our enlightened and liberal institutions and government.

MARKET DAY AT PONCE.

"It is not their purpose to interfere with existing laws and customs which are wholesome and beneficial to the people, so long as they conform to the rules of the military administration, order, and justice. This is not a war of devastation and desolation, but one to give all within the control of the military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization."

General Wilson proved himself an excellent ruler. Almost the first thing he did was to release the political prisoners. One of these was accused of having cut the telegraph wire between Ponce and San Juan, just before the arrival of the Americans, who, had they been delayed a few hours, would have been too late to save the man from being shot. As soon as he was set free he ran among his friends, received their congratulations, and then with their help dragged the Spaniards who had put him in prison before General Wilson, expecting as a matter of course that they would be immediately put to death; but General Wilson promptly released them and reminded those who had turned the tables so effectively that the mission of the Americans was not one of vengeance.

Then a delegation of priests called to learn what our government meant to do for

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the support of their churches. The general informed them that the Constitution of the United States did not allow any money to be paid for the aid of religious organizations, and their churches would have to take care of themselves. The editors of several newspapers timidly asked whether they would have to suspend publication, but to their delight were told to go ahead and print the news. Some of these editors afterward so outrageously abused their privilege that they were warned, and, failing to mend their manners, were forced to cease the issuance of their abusive sheets.

STREET SCENE AND PRIVATE RESIDENCE AT PONCE.

Thus far everything ran smoothly in this portion of the island, but it was different in other quarters. General Garreton had remained with his brigade at and near Guanica. On July 26, while advancing upon Yauco, he met the enemy and had a brisk engagement which lasted for quarter of an hour. Three Spaniards were killed and thirteen wounded, while no Americans were killed and only four wounded. Two days later Yauco was reached, and instead of offering resistance the people literally danced with joy at sight of the invaders. Here is the text of the exuberant proclamation of the mayor, issued before the fleeing Spaniards were fairly out of sight of the town:

"Citizens!—On to-day the citizens of Porto Rico assist in one of the most beautiful fêtes—the sun of America shines upon our mountains and valleys this day of July, 1898. It is a day of glorious remembrance for each son of this beloved isle, because for the first time there waves over us a flag of the stars, planted in the name of the Government of the United States of America by the Major-General of the American army, Señor Miles.

"Porto Ricans, we are here, by the miraculous intervention of the God of the just, given back to the bosom of our mother America, in whose waters Nature placed us as people of America. To her we are given back in the name of her Government by General Miles, and we must send her our most expressive salutation of generous affection through our conduct towards the valiant troops represented by distinguished officers commanded by the illustrious General Miles. Citizens, long live the Government of the United States of America! Hail to their valiant troops! Hail, Porto Rico, always American!

"Alcalde FRANCISCO MEGIA.

"YAUCO, PORTO RICO, United States of America."

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This proclamation was a true expression of the feelings of the citizens. The bands played incessantly in the public square, numerous receptions were held, and the Porto Rican maidens danced with the soldiers until the small hours of the morning, while jollity, merriment, and rejoicing were everywhere.

Thus we see that Guanica, Ponce, and Yauco had speedily become American cities, and the fourth to follow was Juan Diaz, captured by the Pennsylvania volunteers under Colonel Hulings. On August 1 the *Gloucester* arrived at Arroyo, sent a landing party ashore, and immediately the Stars and Stripes was raised over the custom-house. Less than half a dozen Spanish officials were caught, but they were promptly released on parole. There had been a garrison of considerable strength, but they fled on the approach of the invaders.

Some resistance was met at the more important town of Guayama, six miles to the westward, where the garrison consisted of 250 men. The force sent thither by General Brooke captured it on August 5, with only three men slightly wounded. At Coamo, on August 9, there was a half-hour of fighting by Generals Wilson and Ernst, during which six of the enemy were killed and a number of Americans wounded, when the Spaniards surrendered.

There was a less cordial welcome in Coamo than elsewhere, and it was the fault of the Americans themselves. A number of soldiers who first entered the town behaved riotously, taking goods from the stores, and eating what they wished in the restaurants and refusing to pay therefor. Naturally the stores and eating-houses were closed, and most of the people refused to appear on the streets or to show themselves when the remainder of the troops took possession of the town.

At this time General Schwan, with 1300 troops, including a number of regulars, was off on a sort of independent campaign of his own. He had with him artillery, cavalry, and infantry, with which he left Guanica, where, as you will remember, General Miles had landed, and headed toward the town of Mayaguez. General Schwan, although he had but little more than a regiment under his command, had a wagon train, and all three branches of the service, and kept pegging away at every opportunity that presented.

No opposition worth mentioning was encountered at Savana Grande and San German, but a few miles beyond the latter town, and halfway to Mayaguez, he ran against a considerable force of the enemy. They were speedily defeated, and then Mayaguez was occupied without any real resistance, as were Anasco and Aguardo, the Spanish troops falling back on Lares, with the Americans in hot pursuit. Before a decisive engagement could be forced, news reached the Americans that a truce had been declared between the American and Spanish governments, and all fighting in Porto Rico was at an end. The total loss of the whole campaign was two men killed and one officer and seventeen men wounded.

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CHAPTER II.

FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY, 1897–1901 (CONTINUED)—OUR WAR WITH SPAIN (CONTINUED)—THE CAMPAIGN IN THE PHILIPPINES—DEWEY'S GREAT VICTORY.

I HAVE thought it best to complete my account of the war in our own hemisphere before giving attention to events in the Far East; but in order to keep this account clear in your minds, you must remember that we are now going back to a time—May 1—which was before the destruction of Cervera's fleet and the decisive operations in Cuba and Porto Rico.

Nobody dreamed, when war was declared between Spain and the United States, that within barely more than a week the most terrific engagement, and one of the most wonderful naval battles in history, would be fought on the other side of the world, in waters where it did not seem likely a hostile shot would be fired.

At the time the war clouds were thickening, Theodore Roosevelt, afterward the colonel of the Rough Riders, was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and insisted upon the appointment of Commodore George Dewey to the command of the Asiatic squadron, although Dewey himself preferred to remain where there appeared to be a better prospect of active service. He accepted the assignment, however; and the Assistant Secretary warned him in a confidential message to remain at Hong Kong, to keep his bunkers filled with coal, and, as soon as war broke out, to prevent the Spanish squadron leaving the Asiatic coast, and to strike the hardest blow he could in the Philippines.

Coal, ammunition, and supplies were hurried across the continent by express trains to San Francisco, whence they were shipped to Hong Kong, where they arrived in due time. Everything was fully prepared, and Commodore Dewey impatiently awaited orders from his government. They were not long in coming. The ocean telegraphs were still throbbing with the news of the declaration of war, when another flashed to Commodore Dewey ordering him to attack the Spanish fleet that was believed to be in Manila waters.

Now, when a great war breaks out, it is the custom of the nations which are not concerned to issue proclamations of neutrality, by which they pledge themselves to give no help to either side. Great Britain was prompt with such a proclamation, although, as you remember, she strongly sympathized with us, and by her friendship prevented other European nations from interfering between Spain and the United States.

When news of the neutrality of Great Britain reached Commodore Dewey he was with his squadron at Hong Kong, which is a British port. By the laws of nations he could not stay there more than twenty-four hours. Accordingly, he steamed to Mirs Bay, not far off, which is a Chinese port, whence, all his preparations being finished by the 27th of April, he started for Manila, which has a population of a quarter of a

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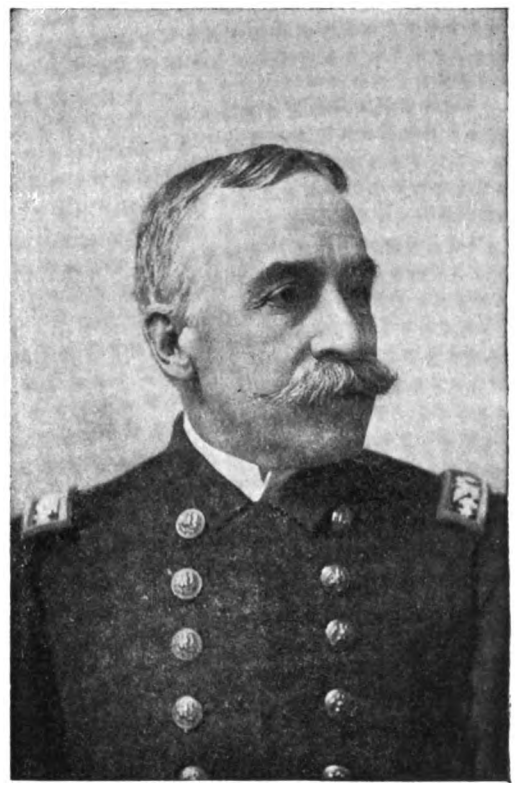
million, is on the western coast of Luzon, the principal island of the Philippines, and has for many years been the metropolis and capital of the group which was the most valuable of all of Spain's dependencies.

The city stands on a land-locked sea, facing a beautiful sheet of water, expansive enough to allow all the navies of the world to ride at anchor at the same time. The entrance to the bay is seven miles across and contains several islands, the largest being Corregidor and Caballo. These islands separate the entrance into two channels, called respectively the Boca Grande, five miles wide, and the Boca Chico, two miles wide. The city of Manila lies twenty-six miles to the northeast. The fortified part, which is the official and ancient city, is on the south, while the modern portion, north of the Pasig River, had no fortifications at all until the certainty of the coming war led the Spanish authorities to strengthen the shore batteries and to mount a number of additional guns. The principal attention was given to those at Cavité, which is a suburb of the city, on a promontory, and ten miles nearer the entrance to the bay than Manila itself. Had this town been in the possession of the Americans no fleet in the world could have captured it—but as to Spain, that "is another story."



GEORGE DEWEY.

The American fleet under the command of Commodore Dewey was as follows:

Olympia—First-class protected cruiser (flagship), 5500 tons. Speed, 22.7 knots. Complement, 450. Armor, protected deck, 2 inches to 4¾ inches. Guns: main battery, four 8-inch, ten 5-inch rapid-fire; secondary battery, rapid-fire, fourteen 6-pounders, seven 1-pounders, four Gatlings; one field gun and five torpedo tubes. Captain Charles V. Gridley.

Baltimore—Protected cruiser, 4400 tons. Speed, 20.1 knots. Complement, 386. Armor, 2½ inches to 4 inches. Guns: main battery, four 8-inch, six 6-inch slow-fire; secondary battery, rapid-fire, four 6-pounders, two 3-pounders, two 1-pounders, four 37-mm. Hotchkiss, two Colts; one field-gun and five torpedo tubes. Captain Nehemiah M. Dyer.

Raleigh—Protected cruiser, 3183 tons. Speed, 19 knots. Armor, 1 inch to 2½ inches. Guns: one 6-inch rapid-fire, ten 5-inch; secondary battery, eight 6-pounders, four 1-pounders, and two machine guns. Complement, 320. Captain Joseph B. Coghlan.

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Boston—Protected cruiser, 3189 tons. Speed, 15.6 knots. Complement, 270. Armor, 1½ inch deck. Guns: main battery, two 8-inch, and six 6-inch rifles; secondary battery, rapid-fire, two 6-pounders and two 3-pounders. Captain Frank Wildes.

Petrel—Fourth-rate cruiser, 890 tons. Speed, 13.7 knots. Guns: four 6-inch, two 3-pounder rapid fire, one 1-pounder, and four machine guns. Commander Edward P. Wood.

Concord—Gunboat, 1700 tons. Speed, 16.8 knots. Armor, 3-8 inch deck. Guns: main battery, six 6-inch rifles. Commander Asa Walker.

Hugh McCulloch—Revenue cutter, light battery of rapid-fire guns.

Zafiro—Auxiliary cruiser; supply vessel.

When Dewey sailed from Mirs Bay he had no actual knowledge of the location of the Spanish fleet, but believed it was at anchor in Manila Bay. At any rate, he determined to hunt first for it there, and sure enough he found it, under the command of Admiral Montojo and composed as follows:

Reina Maria Cristina—Steel cruiser (flagship). Built in 1887, steel, 3520 tons, 14 to 17.5 knots according to draught, and a main battery of six 6.2-inch rifles.

Castilla—Steel cruiser, built in 1881, steel, 3342 tons, 14 knots, and four 5.9 inch Krupps and two 4.7-inch Krupps in her main battery.

Isla de Cuba—Cruiser.
Isla de Luzon—Cruiser.
} Each 1030 tons, speed 14 knots, crew 200 men, battery four 4.7 inch, four 6-pounder and two 3-pounder guns.

Velasco—Small cruiser, built in 1881, iron, 1139 tons, and three 6-inch Armstrongs in her main battery.

Don Juan de Austria—Small cruiser, completed in 1887, iron, 1152 tons, 13 to 14 knots, and four 4.7-inch rifles in her main battery.

Don Antonio de Ulloa—Small cruiser, iron, 1152 tons. Four 4.7-inch Hontoria guns; two 2.7-inch; two quick-firing; two 1.5-inch; five muzzle-loaders.

Gunboats *Paragna*, *Callao*, *Samar*, *Pampagna*, and *Arayat*, built 1881–86, steel, 137 tons, 10 knots, and each mounting two quick-firing guns.

Gunboats *Mariveles* and *Mindoro*, built in 1886 and 1885, iron, 142 tons, 10 knots, each mounting one 2.7-inch rifle and four machine guns.

Gunboat *Manileno*, built in 1887, wood, 142 tons, 9 knots, and mounting three 3.5-inch rifles.

Gunboats *El Cano* and *General Lezo*, built in 1885, iron, 528 tons, 10 to nearly 12 knots, and each mounting three 3.5-inch rifles.

Gunboat *Marquis del Duero*, built in 1875, iron, 500 tons, 10 knots, and mounting one 6.2-inch and two 4.7-inch rifles.

A comparison of these two fleets shows that the American was superior in guns and caliber, but this advantage was far outweighed, as the Spanish viewed it, by the shore batteries, and the mines and torpedoes that had been laid in the bay. I have told you before that in every test between ships and shore batteries it has been proven that the latter have much the best of it.

You must not think Admiral Montojo was not aware of the coming of the

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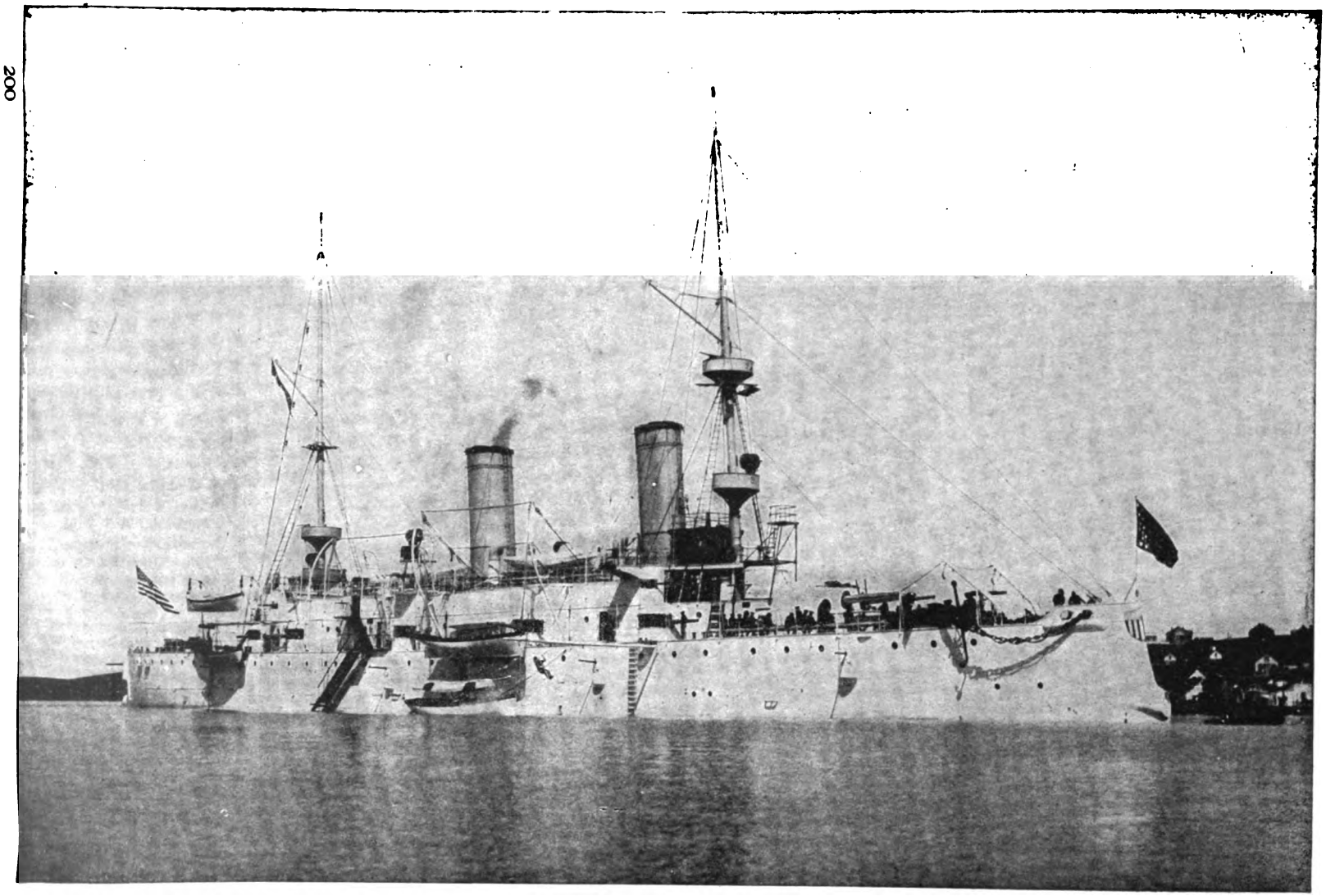

THE CRUISER "OLYMPIA," ADMIRAL DEWEY'S FLAGSHIP.

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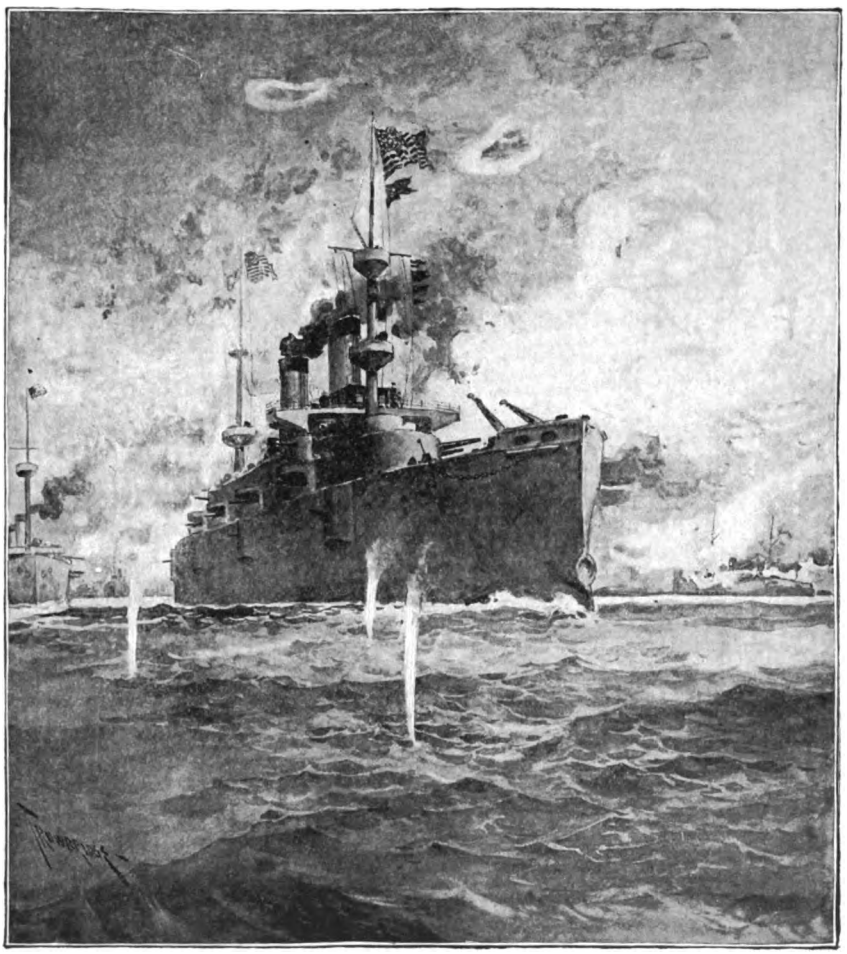
American fleet. There had been rumors for days in Manila that it would soon be before the city; but one of the strangest facts connected with the late war is the contempt in which the Spaniards held the American "pigs," as they were fond of calling them. They expressed the hope again and again that they would come nigh enough to give the proud Dons a chance to sweep them from the sea or the face of the earth. The governor-general isssued the following bombastic proclamation:

"The North American people, composed of all the social excrescences, have



THE "OLYMPIA" LEADING THE FLEET INTO ACTION AT MANILA, MAY 1, 1898.

exhausted our patience and provoked war with perfidious machinations, acts of treachery, and outrages against the law of nations and international conventions.

"A squadron, manned by foreigners and possessing neither instructions nor discipline, is preparing to come to this archipelago with the ruffianly intention of robbing us of all that means life, honor, and liberty.

"The aggressors shall not profane the tombs of your fathers, shall not gratify their

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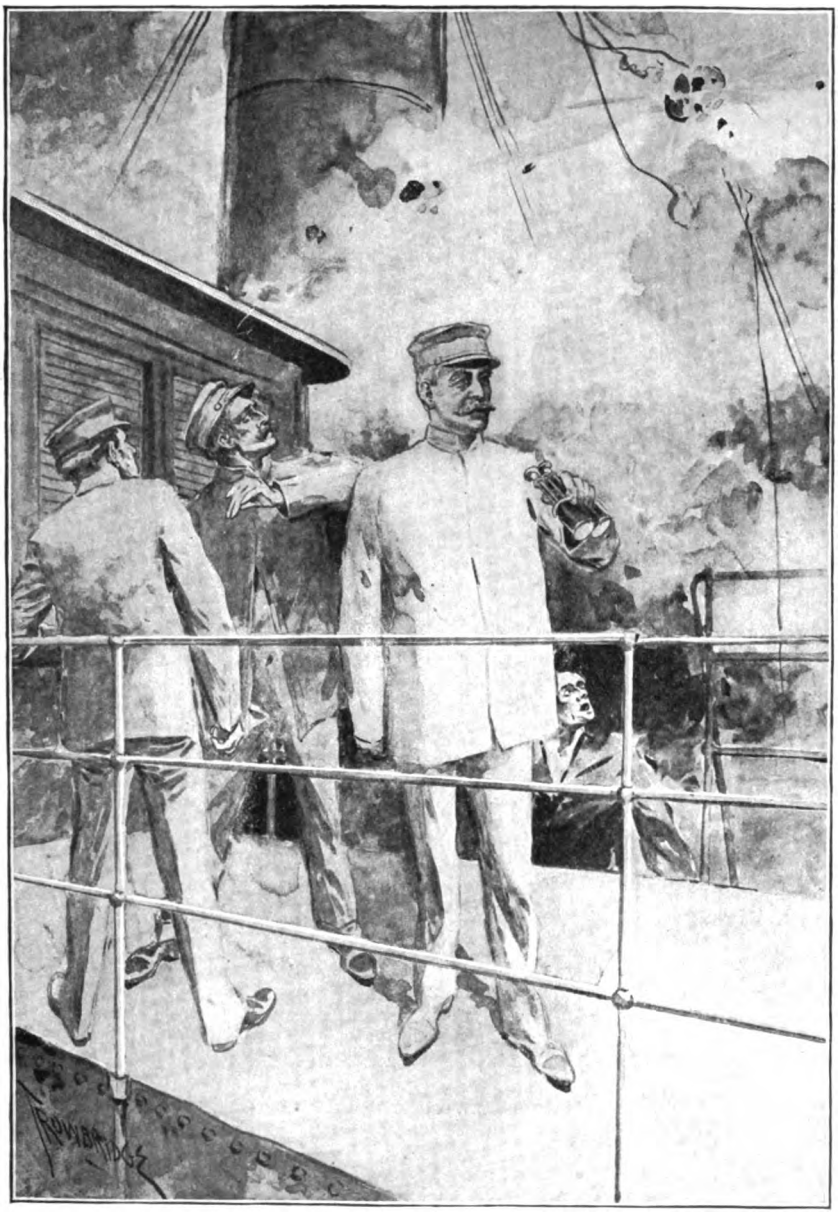
lustful passion at the cost of your wives and daughters, shall not cover you with dishonor, shall not appropriate the property your industry has accumulated as provision against old age, and shall not perpetrate any of the crimes inspired by their wickedness



COMMODORE DEWEY ON THE BRIDGE OF THE "OLYMPIA" DURING THE ACTION.

and covetousness, because your valor and patriotism will suffice to punish this miserable people, that, claiming to be civilized and cultivated, have exterminated the unhappy

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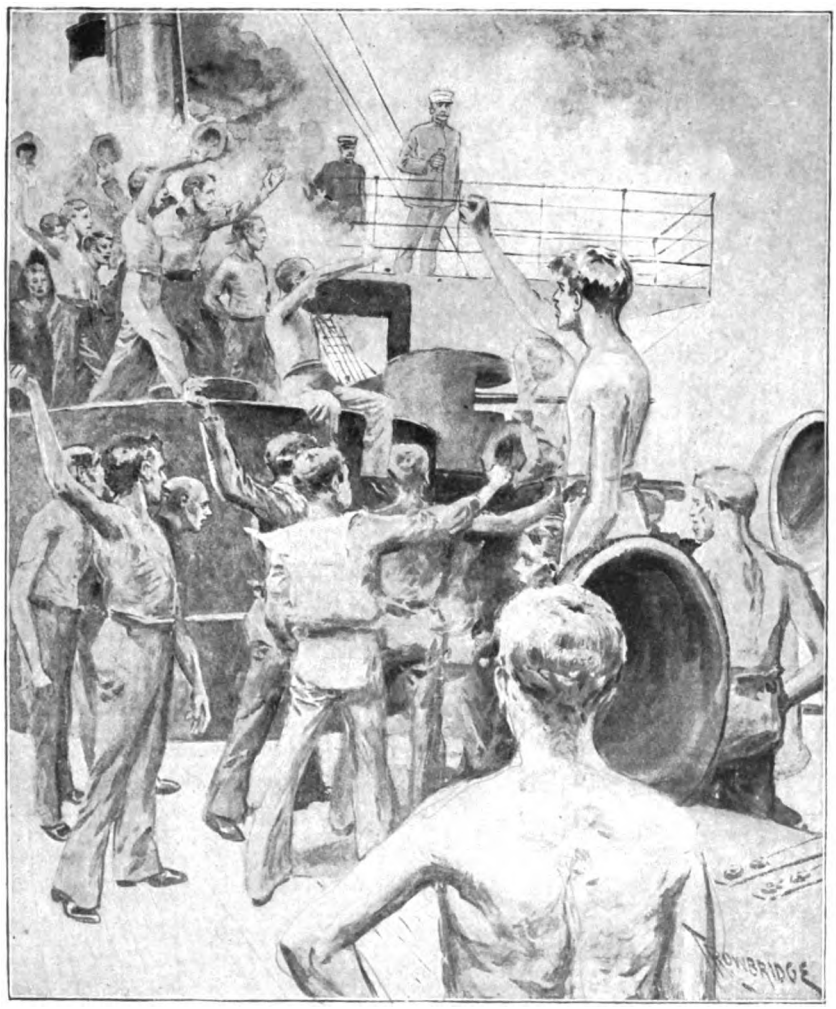
natives of North America, instead of bringing them to a life of civilization and progress."

The Spaniards in Manila had friends in Hong Kong, and Commodore Dewey had hardly steamed out of the harbor with his fleet when the news was telegraphed to Manila that he was undoubtedly on his way to that city. The authorities tried in every



THE "OLYMPIA'S" CREW CHEERING AFTER THE BATTLE.

way to keep the tidings a secret, but it seems impossible on such occasions; and before long it was known to everybody that the Yankee "pigs" would be due in a few days.

Despite the confidence expressed and the boasts made, something like a panic spread throughout Manila. Many who possessed the means gathered their valuables together and took refuge on the merchant vessels that happened to be in the harbor, and thankful were they when the craft spread their sails and left the place. The

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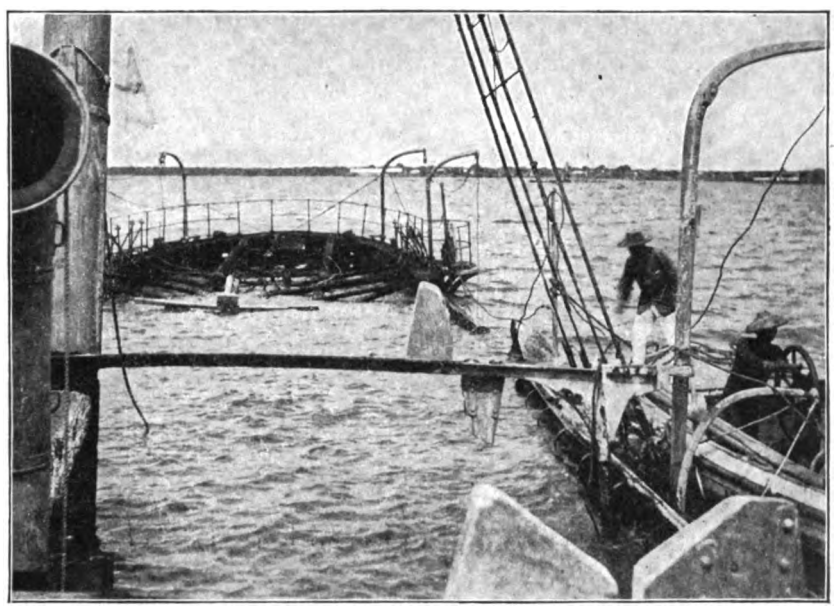
greater portion, however, had no means of leaving, and remained. They may have gained some courage from the vaporings of the officials, who expressed their delight that at last a chance was to be given them of teaching the barbarians from the West the meaning of Spanish valor. And yet such boasts could not wholly remove the fears of the citizens, who knew something of the exploits of those barbarians in the wars in which they had been engaged with other powerful nations.

Now, since the people in Manila knew when the fleet left Hong Kong,—though unaware that it had stopped at Mirs Bay,—they could figure out at what time it was due in front of their city. They thought it would arrive on Saturday, and though the sight may have been inspiriting, it nevertheless was grotesque, viewed in the light of what subsequently took place, to see Admiral Montojo's vessels steaming back and forth around the bay and the entrance, on the watch for the audacious "pigs," who did not come within "sticking" distance when expected. Toward the close of the day the fleet was lined up at Cavité, seven miles from Manila, where it would seem it ought to have been impregnable against any attack, for, as you will remember, that place was powerfully fortified. The Spanish engineers had thrown up a long line of earthworks as a protection to the arsenal, dry dock, and naval workshops. In addition, there were the fort at the entrance on Corregidor Island, the battery on Caballo, and the mines and torpedoes in the channel. After all, the confidence of the Spaniards was perhaps natural.



THE WRECK OF THE "ISLA DE CUBA" AT MANILA.

Meanwhile, Commodore Dewey was steaming through the soft seas toward Manila, every ship stripped for battle, and every officer and seaman eager for the conflict. They were cool and sanguine, and their faith in their gallant commander and themselves was supreme. Night was beginning to throw its shadows across the heaving waters, when Dewey, peering through his glass, caught the dim outlines of Corregidor Island in the distance. He had been in those waters years before, and knew something of them. Moreover, he had not failed to add to his knowledge by every means possible while waiting at Hong Kong. His information was fuller than is generally supposed.

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Of one thing he had no doubt: Corregidor was strongly fortified and there was no lack of submarine mines and torpedoes, but none of these frightened him or caused any hesitation. He continued advancing, and by and by the full moon, rising in an almost cloudless sky, illumined the impressive scene. But it was important that his approach should, so far as possible, be concealed from the enemy, and all lights in the squadron were put out and the men took their station at the guns. His own *Olympia* led the majestic procession, followed by the *Baltimore*, the *Raleigh*, the *Petrel*, the *Concord*, and the *Boston*. Manila Bay still lay a good many miles away, and midnight had passed, when from Corregidor Island a vivid flash lit up the gloom, a heavy boom traveled over the waters, and a huge shell shrieked out in the stillness, as the great missile screeched above the *Olympia* and *Raleigh*, followed a moment later by a second, which splashed into the channel many rods astern. The first shot in reply was sent from the *Raleigh*, the *Concord* and *Boston* quickly joining. Even in the partial darkness, all the American shells appeared to drop within the shore battery, which soon ceased its firing.

Who can picture the consternation caused by these shots in Manila? The people had been nervously looking for the hostile vessels for hours, and now, in the silence of the night, they were heard thundering at their doors. Women caught up their screaming children, and with their white-faced husbands ran for the shelter of the nearest churches, hoping those sacred edifices would be spared by the terrible barbarians from the West. The panic was intensified by rumors that the Filipinos were massed at the rear of the city, and would swarm in to loot and murder the moment the attack began.

At last the bright, sunshiny morning of Sunday, May 1, broke over the scene. Thousands of people had lined the bay, looking out with wonder and terror upon the American fleet, scarce ten miles away, drawn up in line of battle. As the growing light crept over the waters Commodore Dewey, scanning every part of his field of vision, saw the Spanish squadron off Cavité, the flag of Admiral Montojo fluttering from the *Reina Cristina*, with the *Castilla* a short distance in front, while toward the sea were the *Don Juan de Austria*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, *Isla de Cuba*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Quiros*, *Marquis del Duero*, and the *General Lezo*.

With impressive grandeur the American squadron advanced to the attack. As the vessels steamed in front of Manila, three shore batteries opened with their heavy guns, whose effective range was fully five miles. The only reply made was by the *Concord*, which hurled two shells at the batteries, that, so far as is known, did no particular execution. The squadron was still drawing near Cavité, when two immense mines exploded in front of the *Olympia*, sending columns of water high in air, but Dewey neither faltered nor swerved a foot from his course, and like Farragut, his great instructor, in Mobile Bay, he signaled to the other vessels to pay no attention to the torpedoes.

Some powerful-lunged sailor on one of the ships, with a voice like a megaphone, called out "Remember the *Maine!*" and almost in the same minute the great naval battle of Manila opened. The warships and the shore batteries began firing together, but amid the thrilling war cry, repeated by hundreds of throats, the *Olympia* moved steadily forward. Her commander, cool, alert, and observant of every point in the

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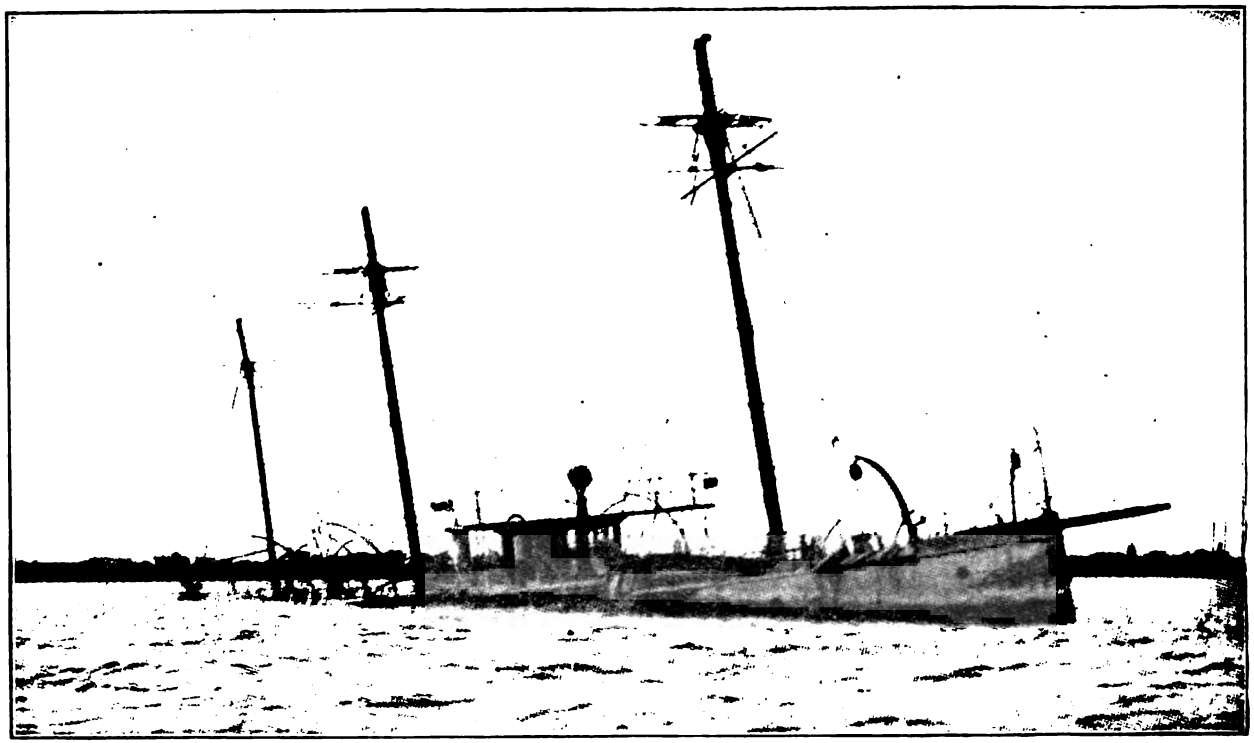

THE WRECK OF THE "DON JUAN DE ULLOA."

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stupendous drama, finally turned to his captain and said, as if referring to some ordinary subject:

"You may fire, Gridley, as soon as you are ready!"

That was the command or rather permission for which all were waiting, and it was followed instantly by a series of vicious, crackling sounds, and then the thunderous roar made the earth and sea quiver, as the billows of smoke were pierced by the crimson tougues of flame which darted through them like fiery serpents, and the prodigious mass of metal sped forward on its mission of destruction and death.

I suppose you know that in a naval battle the fighting ships do not keep still, but are kept continually moving, so as to destroy, so far as possible, the aim of the enemy. In picturing this wonderful scene, therefore, you must think of the American ships as moving slowly in immense circles, the Spaniards doing the same, while the sides of all were continually belching great sheets of smoke and flame, the air was throbbing with the awful discharges, and with the crash of the enemy's vessels and the shrieks of the wounded and dying, mortally stricken by this tempest of shot and shell.

It was about seven o'clock in the morning when the battle of Manila opened. It had continued half an hour when a lull took place. As the gentle breeze swept across the bay, the terrified spectators on shore saw the flagship of Admiral Montojo wrapped in flames. The terror of the sight was lessened by the cessation of the American firing. Giving voice to their hopes rather than their belief, they accepted this as proof that the invaders had been beaten off. The news was telegraphed to Madrid, on the other side of the world, where naturally it caused great rejoicing. The deluded people cheered and congratulated one another, while one idiotic official, with glowing face, declared, "I can hardly restrain my joyful emotions." Poor fellow, his delusion did not last long!

Now, you need hardly be reminded that men fight better when not hungry than when in need of food. Commodore Dewey, like the wise commander he always showed himself to be, had stopped the battle in order to replenish his ammunition, and he took advantage of the pause to order the men to breakfast. One grim old sea-dog was so disgusted with the order, that when he heard it he expressed the wish that their breakfast might go to Hades until after they had finished the Spaniards. You will be interested to know that when that exclamation was carried to this side of the world, and reached the home of the gallant old tar, his neighbors were so pleased with his grit that they clubbed together and paid off the mortgage on his modest little home.

Driven from his burning ship, Admiral Montojo transferred his flag to the *Isla de Cuba*, and between ten and eleven o'clock the battle was resumed. Again the tremendous guns flashed from the armored sides, and the shot and shell smashed the ribs of the enemy's ships, and spread death and destruction on every hand. Never was there so astounding an illustration of the difference in the skill of gunners as in this historic fight. The Spaniards seemed literally unable to hit anything, while it looked equally impossible for the Americans to miss. The havoc which their guns created was appalling. Before long the second flagship was set on fire, and when the other Spanish crews saw it they were stricken with something like a panic.

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Battle of Manila Bay

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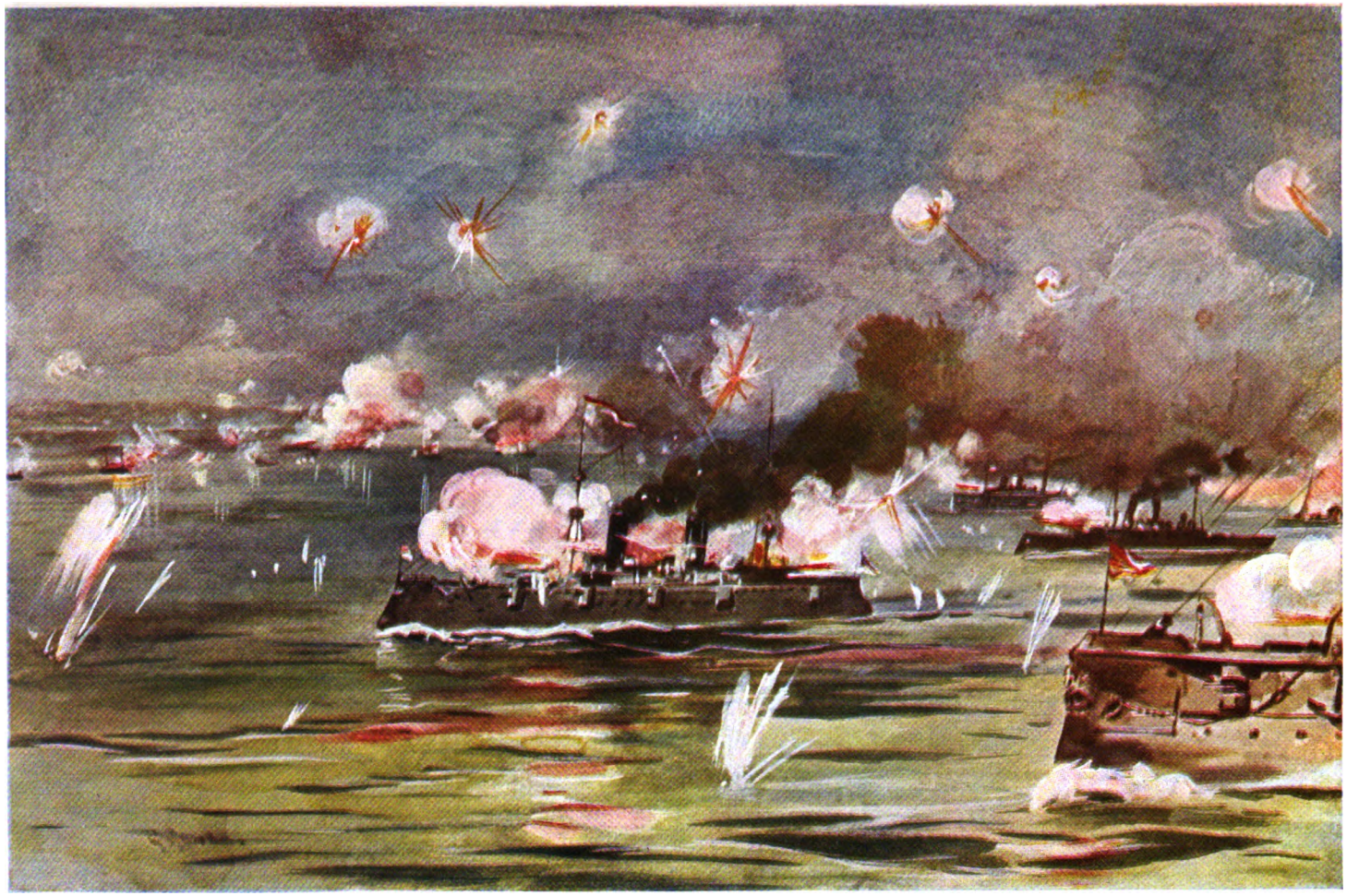

PERMISSION OF COLLIER'S WEEKLY.

THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY.

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The scene at this time was terrific beyond description. The enemy's fleet were in the wildest confusion. Their vessels were burning, their massive sides were splintered by the tons of bursting explosives driven with merciless might, and the shrieking crews were torn to fragments. Let me quote the words of an eyewitness of the scene:

"The Americans now pressed their advantage, and poured a heavy fire into the sinking ships. At this juncture the *Don Juan de Austria* became the center of interest. She had been in the very front of the battle, and had received perhaps more of the American shots than any other. Admiral Montojo, on the burning *Cuba*, threw up his arms with a gesture of despair as a heavy roar came from the *Austria*, and part of her deck flew up in the air, taking with it scores of dead and dying and mangled. A shot had set off one of her magazines. She was ruined and sinking. Her crew refused to leave her. Weeping, cursing, praying, firing madly and blindly, they went down with her. As the *Don Juan* went down the *Castilla* burst into flames. The remainder of the Spanish fleet now turned and fled down the long narrow aisle behind Cavité Several of the gunboats were run ashore, while others fled up a small creek and were grounded there."

Not only was the Spanish fleet overwhelmed and wiped out, but the batteries of Cavité were silenced. The American victory was overwhelming, complete, and decisive to the last degree; but the fact beyond understanding is how this was secured with a loss of a thousand slain and wounded to the Spaniards, while on our side not a man was killed!

I repeat that no one will ever be able to understand this amazing fact. It has been said that if in firing the Spanish gunners had closed their eyes and taken no aim at all, it would seem that blind chance must have sent some of their missiles into our ships and killed many of our men, who took only the usual means of sheltering themselves as did the Spaniards. Never was there such an impressive illustration of the difference between the "men behind the guns."

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CHAPTER III.

FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY, 1897–1901 (CONTINUED)—OUR WAR WITH SPAIN (CONCLUDED).

NOW, you mustn't forget the order of events, for, as I told you, I have not followed them in giving my account of the war with Spain. For the sake of clearness, let us recall the leading incidents of the war in the order in which they occurred:

April 21, the war began.

April 22, the President issued a call for 125,000 volunteers.

April 27, the batteries at Matanzas were bombarded.

May 1, Commodore Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet at Manila.

May 25, the President issued a second call for volunteers, the number being 75,000.

June 3, Lieutenant Hobson sank the *Merrimac* in the channel of Santiago harbor.

June 20–22, General Shafter's army landed at Daiquiri.

July 1–2, the Spanish earthworks at El Caney and San Juan, Santiago, were carried by assault with heavy loss.

July 3, Admiral Cervera's fleet, in attempting to escape from Santiago, was destroyed by the American fleet.

July 10, the bombardment of Santiago was resumed by General Shafter.

July 17, Santiago surrendered.

July 25, the United States army, under General Miles, landed in Porto Rico and the towns surrendered in rapid succession, Ponce submitting on the 28th.

The great victory of Commodore Dewey received the praise it deserved, not only in his own country, but throughout the civilized world. Experts pronounced it without a parallel, and the Americans were proud beyond expression over the exploit of the modest hero. President McKinley, in an eloquent message to Congress summarizing the services of the Commodore, closed with these words:

"I now recommend that, following our national precedents, and expressing the fervent gratitude of every patriotic heart, the thanks of Congress be given Acting Rear Admiral George Dewey (which promotion had been made by the President immediately upon receiving news of the victory) of the United States Navy, for highly distinguished conduct in conflict with the enemy, and to the officers and men under his command for their gallantry in the destruction of the enemy's fortifications in the Bay of Manila."

Congress acted at once upon the recommendation. The President's promotion of Commodore Dewey to the rank of rear admiral was validated without a vote in opposition. On February 13, 1899, Mr. Hale, chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, reported a bill creating an Admiral of the Navy, and the measure was unani-

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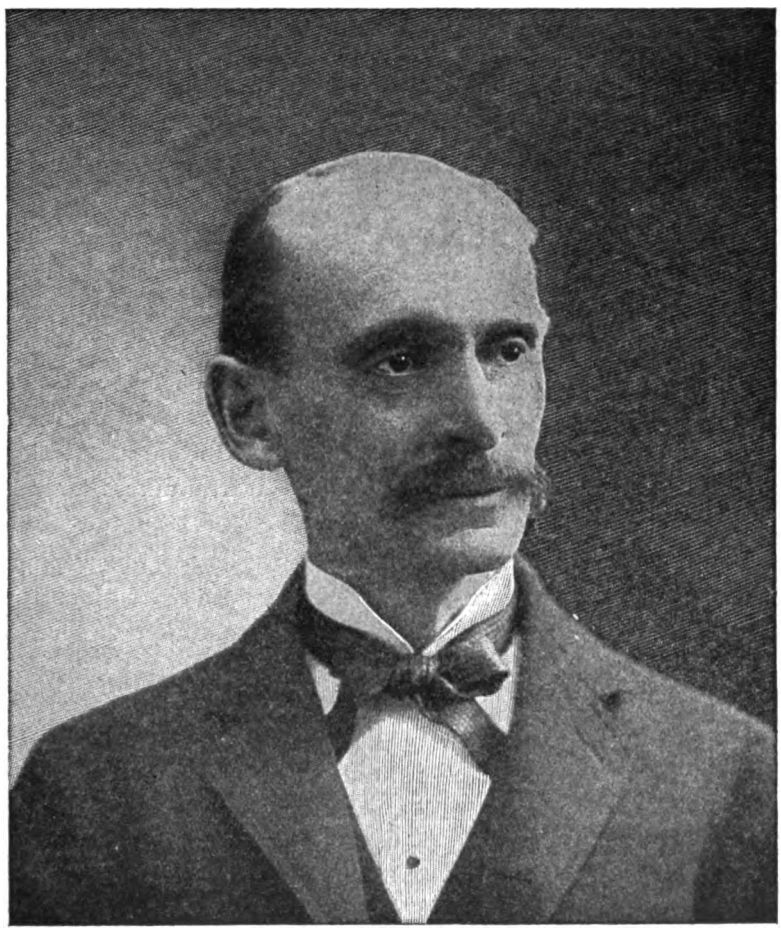
mously passed, the honor of course going to Dewey. It may be interesting to know that this grade was created by Act of Congress July 25, 1866, in order to reward that grand old hero David G. Farragut. He died in 1870, and the rank passed to Vice-Admiral David D. Porter, who died in 1891, when the grade was allowed to lapse, to be revived as just told and conferred upon Dewey.

An unexpected incident of the war occurred on July 4, 1898, when the United States steamer *Charleston*, on her way to the Philippines, stopped at the Ladrone



HON. WILLIAM R. DAY, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Islands, which belonged to Spain, and whose inhabitants had not the remotest idea of a war between their country and our own. Arriving at the island of Guam, the *Charleston* sent a broadside at the forts which guarded the city of Agana, and they made no reply. Soon after a body of American troops were landed and took possession of the place. The most astonished man in the world was the governor, who thought the guns of the *Charleston* were intended as a salute, and he had no suspicion that they meant "business." There was no choice left to him but to surrender, and he did so with the

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best grace possible. He and his soldiers were taken as prisoners to Manila, while a handful of men were left to take care of Guam.

The Ladrone Islands lie in a direct line across the Pacific, giving us Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines as practically keys to the entire commerce of the ocean. Guam itself is so small that its chief value is as a coaling station for the United States navy.

Returning to Admiral Dewey, you must note that although he had won one of the greatest victories in all history, the force under his command was too slight for him to capture and hold the large city of Manila. So he calmly waited until the needed re-enforcements from the United States arrived. The insurgent Filipinos, who hated Spain and had suffered long under her savage rule, kept up repeated attacks on the Spaniards and inflicted considerable loss. Could they have entered the city they would have committed dreadful barbarities. Although they were our allies and eager to be let loose, Admiral Dewey was too humane to permit their atrocities, and he sternly held them in check.

Invaluable as were the services of the Admiral in battle, they were fully as great in peace. For many months after his naval victory he remained, as it may be said, simply on the watch. The warships of other leading nations were in the harbor, closely observant of events. Those of Great Britain and Japan showed marked friendship to our own, while the German admiral was not always friendly. The tension at times was considerable, and it is safe to say that with almost any other man in the place of Dewey we should have become involved in a war with Germany, but the Admiral is as skillful a diplomat as a commander, and his delicacy, tact, firmness, and discretion could not have been surpassed.

Meanwhile three expeditions were on their way across the Pacific to re-enforce Dewey. General Wesley Merritt was made commander-in-chief of all the forces in the Philippines, and arrived at Cavité July 25. The first expedition, under General Thomas Anderson, had landed on June 30, while the second got there on July 17, and the third, under General MacArthur, reached Manila July 30, five days after the arrival of General Merritt.

The latter held a conference with Admiral Dewey, and it was decided to make the attack on Manila without delay. The first fighting took place on the night of July 31 amid a fierce rainstorm, when 3000 Spanish troops made a sortie from the city against the outposts and trenches of Camp Dewey, near Malate. The struggle was furious, but in the end the Spaniards were repulsed with heavy loss. There was a good deal of fighting throughout the following two weeks, in which the Spaniards displayed great bravery and our troops suffered considerable losses, though slight when compared with those of the enemy. The city was captured August 13 by the combined land and naval forces. This important event was thus summed up by General Merritt in his official report:

"On the 7th instant Admiral Dewey joined me in forty-eight-hour notification to Spanish commander to remove non-combatants from city. Same date reply received, expressing thanks for humane sentiments, and stating Spanish without places for refuge for non-combatants now within walled towns.

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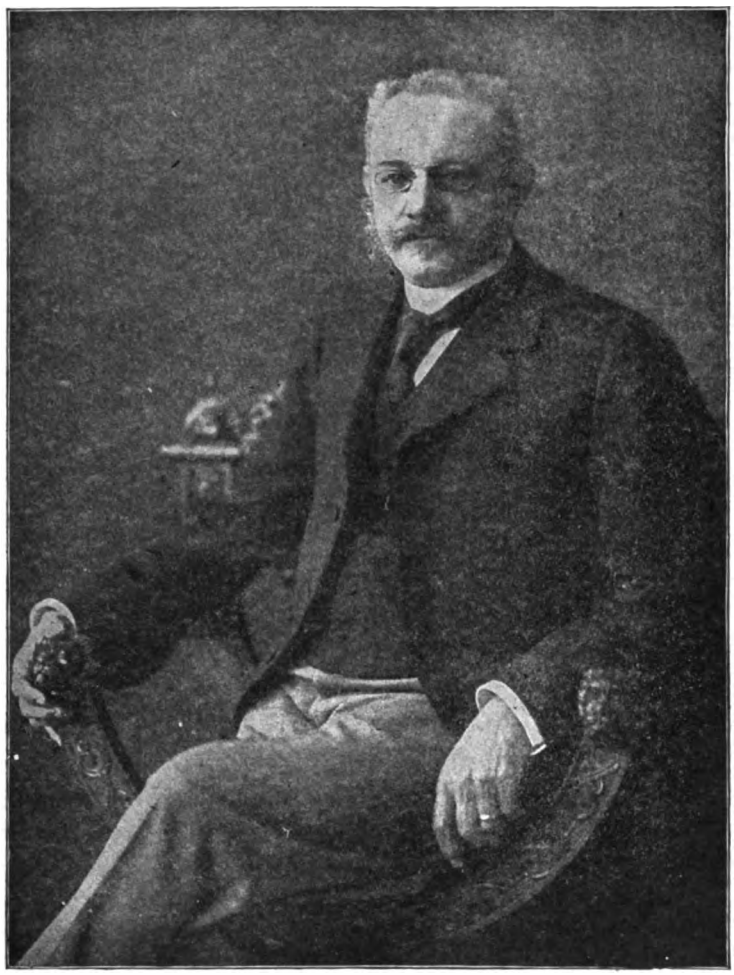
"On 9th instant sent joint note, inviting attention to suffering in store for sick and non-combatants in case it became our duty to reduce the defenses, also setting forth hopeless condition of Spanish forces, surrounded on all sides, fleet in front, no prospect of re-enforcements, and demanded surrender as due to every consideration of humanity. Same date received reply, admitting their situation, but stating Council of Defense



M. CAMBON.

declares request for surrender cannot be granted, but offered to consult government, if time was granted necessary for communication *via* Hong Kong. Joint note in reply declining.

"On the 13th joined with navy in attack with following results: After about half-hour's accurate shelling of Spanish lines, MacArthur's brigade on right and Greene's on left-center under Anderson made vigorous attack and carried Spanish works. Loss not accurately known—about 50 in all. Behavior of troops excellent; co-operation of the navy most valuable. Troops advanced rapidly on walled city, upon which white

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flag shown and town capitulated. Troops occupy Malate, Bynondo, walled city San Miguel. All important centers protected. Insurgents kept out. No disorder or pillage."

The white flag was hoisted at half-past eleven, and a conference was held at the palace of the governor-general in the afternoon to arrange the terms of surrender. General Jandenes agreed to submit, and about an hour later the American flag was raised by Lieutenant Brumby of the *Olympia*. The total number of Spanish soldiers who thus became prisoners was more than 8000, besides which an immense supply of arms and ammunition was obtained.

Blind as had been the Spanish leaders at the outbreak of the war, the time had come when they could no longer close their eyes, not only to their overwhelming defeat, but to the irretrievable disasters yet to come if they persisted in resistance to the United States. The project of sending one of our powerful fleets across the Atlantic to attack the kingdom of Spain itself was seriously discussed, and the preliminary movements were set on foot to do so. Spain had lost two of her fleets, and the remaining one under Admiral Camara, of which great things had been expected, proved not worth considering. The rotten monarchy might keep up the farce of war a little while longer, but if she did so she would only add to her humiliation in the end.

The situation had become so hopeless for Spain that, about the middle of July, her authorities decided to make overtures for peace. Since the Spanish interests in this country had been intrusted to France, it was necessary that these overtures should come through her agents. Consequently, M. Cambon, the French ambassador to the United States, became the medium through which the first proposals were made for bringing about peace.

You must understand that in so important a matter every step had to be taken with great care. First of all, President McKinley was asked whether he would consider proposals for ending the war and arranging terms of peace, the question being submitted by the French ambassador on July 30. The answer was returned that, as a basis for peace negotiations, Spain must first withdraw her troops and sovereignty from the Western Hemisphere, Cuba and Porto Rico must be voluntarily evacuated, unassisted by the United States, and Manila must be surrendered to the American forces. This being done, we should be prepared to make known our policy regarding the Spanish possessions in the East.

Notice of the acceptance of this reply was made to President McKinley through the French ambassador on August 9. Considerable more formality followed, when came the signing of the protocol, which was merely an agreement that fighting should be suspended, pending the negotiations that were to follow. This protocol was signed at 4.23 in the afternoon of August 12, 1898. Secretary Day and M. Cambon (the latter acting for Spain) attached their names to duplicate copies of the document, establishing a basis upon which the two countries, acting through their respective commissioners, could negotiate terms of peace.

As soon as the protocol had been signed, President McKinley issued a proclamation declaring the existence of an armistice, and orders were immediately sent to

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THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, M. JULES CAMBON, SIGNING THE PROTOCOL AT WASHINGTON IN BEHALF OF SPAIN.

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General Miles in Porto Rico (you remember they reached that island just in time to stop a battle that was about to open), to General Shafter in Cuba, to General Merritt in the Philippines, to Admiral Dewey at Manila, and Admiral Sampson and Commodore Watson at Guantanamo to cease hostilities; and to Admiral Howell at Key West to raise the blockade of Cuba and the Porto Rican ports. Manila was also released from the blockade that had been maintained since May 1.

The news of the signing of the protocol did not reach Manila until shortly after its capture by General Merritt and Admiral Dewey. The following is the text of the proclamation declaring the existence of an armistice:

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, By a protocol concluded and signed August 12, 1898, by William R. Day, Secretary of State of the United States, and his Excellency Jules Cambon, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of France at Washington, respectively representing for this purpose the Government of the United States and the Government of Spain, the United States and Spain have formally agreed upon the terms on which negotiations for the establishment of peace between the two countries shall be undertaken; and,

WHEREAS, It is in said protocol agreed that upon its conclusion and signature hostilities between the two countries shall be suspended, and that notice to that effect shall be given as soon as possible by each Government to the commanders of its military and naval forces;

Now, therefore, I, William McKinley, President of the United States, do, in accordance with the stipulations of the protocol, declare and proclaim on the part of the United States a suspension of hostilities, and do hereby command that orders be immediately given through the proper channels to the commanders of the military and naval forces of the United States to abstain from all acts inconsistent with this proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 12th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-third. WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

By the President.

WILLIAM R. DAY, Secretary of State.

The following appointments of military commissioners were announced on August 16:

For Cuba—Major-General James F. Wade, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, Major-General Matthew C. Butler.

For Porto Rico—Major-General John R. Brooke, Rear Admiral Winfield S. Schley, Brigadier-General William W. Gordon.

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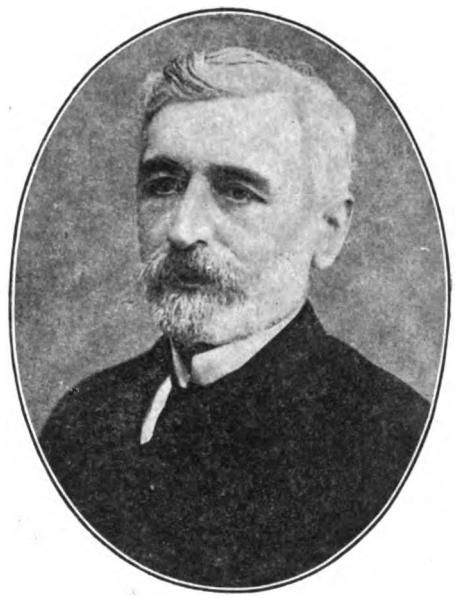
The members of the Peace Commission appointed by the President to meet the Spanish members in Paris were:

William R. Day of Ohio, Secretary of State; Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, William P. Frye of Maine, George Gray, United States Senators; and Whitelaw Reid of New York, editor of the New York *Tribune*. Former Assistant Secretary of State J. B. Moore went with the commission when they sailed, September 17, as secretary and special counsel.

The Spanish commissioners, as announced September 15, were:

Señor Montero Rios, president of the Senate; Señor Abarzuza, Señor Villarrutia, the Spanish minister to Belgium, and General Cerero, the selection of the fifth member being left to Señor Montero Rios.



SEÑOR MONTERO RIOS,
President of the Spanish Senate and Peace Commission.

One of the peculiarities of Spanish officials is to haggle and delay. There is an appropriateness in the name mañana (to-morrow) which is often applied to them. They are sure to demand a great deal more than they expect to get, and they will argue and struggle tenaciously for it. It is possible that there is force in their belief that a man is likely to obtain more by boldly insisting upon it than through a ready agreement to the terms offered. The questions were talked over for weeks in Paris, where the commissioners began their sessions October 1. When our representatives offered $20,000,000 for money spent or debt incurred in the betterment of the Philippines, together with free entry of Spanish goods for ten years, the Spaniards rejected the offer with scorn. One reason for doing this was the hope that the leading European Powers would give them their moral support, but not a single Power made a sign, and, no choice being left, the terms were accepted November 28.

You have learned that all treaties between the United States and foreign nations must be acted upon by the Senate. When the one with Spain, framed on the conditions named, was laid before that body, a considerable opposition appeared. You need hardly be reminded that a good many people were opposed to the policy of "expansion," as it was termed, and at one time it looked as if the treaty would be rejected. Senators Hoar of Massachusetts and Hale of Maine were the leading opponents, but when the vote was taken, February 6, 1899, the treaty received the support of 40 Republicans, 10 Democrats, 3 Populists, 3 Silver men, and 1 Independent, and was opposed by 22 Democrats, 3 Republicans, and 2 Populists, the result being 3 more than the two-thirds vote necessary.

On March 17, 1899, the Queen Regent of Spain signed the ratification of the

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treaty of peace, and our government on the same day was notified of her action by M. Cambon, the French ambassador to the United States. On the 20th of March he was appointed by the Spanish Government to exchange the ratifications with our government. Thus peace was formally secured, and diplomatic relations were resumed between the two countries.

I must mention an interesting coincidence. You will recall that at the battle in Manila Bay the first shot on our side was fired by the *Raleigh*. On the 20th of March, 1899, this cruiser at Gibraltar saluted the Spanish squadron under Admiral Camara by running up the Spanish flag. The admiral responded by hoisting the Stars and Stripes, this being the first ceremony of the kind after the close of the war.

By the terms of the treaty thus made with Spain, she renounced all right to sovereignty over Cuba; ceded the island of Porto Rico to the United States, and the islands then under her control in the West Indies, and the island of Guam in the Ladrone archipelago.

The Philippine archipelago was also ceded to the United States, which three months later paid Spain the sum of $20,000,000. Our country agreed during the term of ten years to admit to the Philippine ports, Spanish ships and merchandise under the same conditions as the ships and merchandise of our own country. We agreed further to transport at our own cost the Spanish soldiers of war made prisoners in the Philippines and to return their arms to them. Spain was to evacuate the Philippines and Guam on conditions similar to those arranged for the evacuation of Porto Rico and the other West India islands, both governments to fix the terms for the evacuation of the Philippines. There was to be a mutual release of prisoners, and the United States was to secure the liberty of all Spanish prisoners in the hands of Cuban and Filipino insurgents, each government to transport home the prisoners thus released. The United States found it hard to carry out this provision as it affected the Philippines, since Aguinaldo for a long time refused to surrender his Spanish captives. There were other provisions of minor importance which it is not necessary to give in full.

The Spanish forces were withdrawn from Cuba on the last day of 1898, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, and on the first day of 1899 the Stars and Stripes was raised over Havana. Everything moved smoothly in Porto Rico, as might have been expected from the cordial reception given our troops when they landed there for the purpose of conquest. Matters were more disturbed in Cuba, and but for the firm course of General Brooke, the military governor, there might have been serious trouble. It is not pleasant to say so, but it is the truth that the majority of the Cubans for whom we had shed so much blood, and spent so much treasure, were totally unworthy of the sacrifices. They did not give anything like the help they promised, and hundreds of them stayed in this country all through the war, quite content to let Americans fight their battles for them; and then, after we had driven out their oppressors, they caused us all the trouble they could.

Down to the beginning of 1900 the total cost of our war with Spain was about $250,000,000; 345 officers and men died from battle and wounds, and 2565 officers and men from disease, making a total of 2910.

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CHAPTER IV.

FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY, 1897–1901 (CONTINUED)—THE WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES.

NATURALLY we all supposed that when the war with Spain had been brought to an end with so triumphant a result to Americans arms, that that was the last of it. But before the treaty was ratified we found ourselves confronted by a formidable rebellion of the natives in the Philippines, under the leadership of Aguinaldo, who some time before had set on foot so serious a revolt against Spain that that country paid him an immense amount to behave himself. Having received the money, Aguinaldo started the same business over again, possibly in the hope of making another good thing from it.

Before this arrangement could be brought about, the United States forces appeared in the Philippines, and Aguinaldo and his natives joined them, though they were so savage in their methods of warfare that Admiral Dewey and General Merritt would have been glad to be rid of them. Finally the Spaniards were driven out. By that time it had become clear to our leaders in that part of the world that we were certain to have trouble with Aguinaldo and his Filipinos. The United States, having secured possession of the islands, was in honor bound to give them a stable government; but the position taken by the native leaders was that the Filipinos were entitled to their independence and that we had no moral right to impose our rule upon them. In the hope of allaying this irritation, General Otis appointed three of our best army officers to confer with a similar body named by Aguinaldo for the purpose of reaching a satisfactory basis of settlement. The two bodies had many meetings throughout January, 1899, and discussed the question with ability and earnestness on both sides, but although the members seemed to do everything possible to bring about an understanding, they failed. There were many causes for this. The marplot Aguinaldo saw an outlet for his consuming ambition, and a glorious chance, as he thought, for figuring as the liberator of his country; the natives were misled by his flaming proclamations, and caught his spirit; the Spanish ex-officials did all they could to foment the discontent; the newspapers called upon the natives to die before yielding their independence; the juntas in Hong Kong, Madrid, and Paris lent their insidious aid, which, it must be confessed, was strengthened by people in the United States who sympathized with Aguinaldo; the delay in ratifying the treaty was injurious; and, not the least of all, the natives despised the American soldiers, whom they did not believe to be superior to the Spanish, whose mettle they had learned long before.

It was exasperating almost beyond bearing to our officers and soldiers to be insulted daily by these swarthy Asiatics, and our men showed great restraint under their taunts. When the outbreak did come the blame was wholly that of the natives.

Well knowing the treacherous character of the Filipinos, who yearned to loot and massacre in Manila, General Otis issued strict orders that none of them should be

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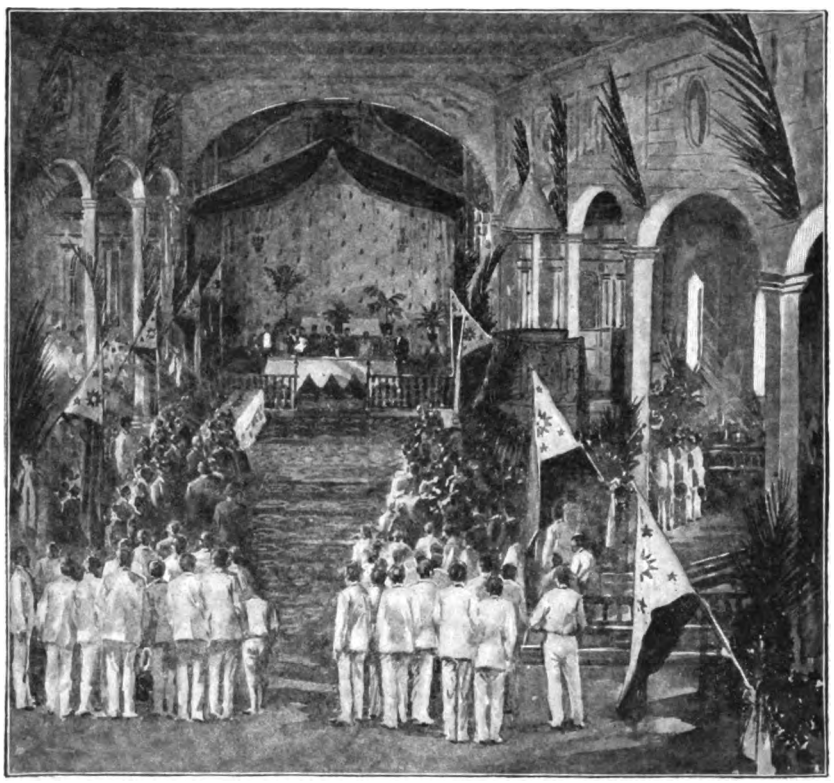
allowed to pass our lines after nightfall. Moreover, these orders were confirmed by Aguinaldo himself. On the night of February 4 a Filipino, followed by several companions, moved out from the rebel lines and was challenged by Private Grayson of the Nebraska regiment. The native paid no attention to the order to halt, which was repeated several times. Finally the sentinel raised his gun and shot him dead.

The defiant action of the Filipino no doubt was intended to bring on a fight, for those with him immediately began firing, and were quickly joined by others. The



FILIPINO CONGRESS AT MALOLOS, SEPTEMBER, 1898.

Americans returned the fire, and in an hour all were blazing away along the whole line from Tondo on the north bay shore, clear around to Malate on the south bay shore.

The first shot was discharged near the San Mesa bridge, on the road leading out to the waterworks east of Manila, and throughout the night our troops acted on the defensive. But the next three days were occupied in an offensive movement, which resulted in driving the Filipinos from their intrenchments and the old Spanish line of blockhouses, which were occupied by our forces. When the fighting ceased the immediate suburbs of Manila were in our possession, as well as the waterworks six miles to the eastward at Santolan.

This engagement was one of the most important of the war in the Philippines. The natives numbered about 20,000, while our troops amounted to 13,000. As in all the

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MAJOR-GENERAL OTIS, U. S. A.

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battles, the enemy's loss was heavy, while on our side we had 4 officers and 53 men killed and 8 officers and 207 men wounded. At the beginning the Filipinos fought bravely, but when they learned the superiority of the Americans over the Spanish soldiers they did not stand their ground nearly so well.

Directly after the affair of February 4 Aguinaldo issued an impassioned appeal to his army, which was really nothing less than a declaration of war. Not being fully prepared, he sent a request to General Otis for a flag of truce, but his purpose was so plain that Otis replied he would listen to no terms except surrender.

THE INSURGENT LEADER AGUINALDO.

The battle of Caloocan was fought on the 10th, and was one of the best-executed movements thus far of the campaign. It resulted in complete success, and Caloocan was occupied by our troops. The navy gave valuable help, the chief work being done by the *Charleston* and *Monadnock*. Meanwhile Admiral Dewey placed the *Olympia* squarely in front of Manila, and between the city and the German cruiser *Irene* and the Spanish transport *Alava*. The significance of this action produced a wholesome effect. Our losses in the advance upon Caloocan were 6 men killed and 4 officers and 57 men wounded. The aim of the Filipinos was little or no better than that of the Spaniards.

General Otis now waited for re-enforcements, and while waiting the famous order was issued from Malolos, the rebel capital, decreeing the assassination of all foreigners in Manila. This plot was discovered, and so strong a force was thrown into the city that the murderers had no opportunity to carry out their ferocious purpose. On the night of February 22, however, the natives made a desperate effort to burn Manila. A great conflagration was started, but through the grim irony of fate the only portion destroyed was Tondo, which is the Filipino quarter. As a matter of precaution, General Otis issued his order that no one without a pass should be permitted on the streets of Manila after nightfall. This precaution no doubt prevented the commission of many crimes.

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THE UTAH BATTERY IN ACTION AT CALOOCAN.

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The lines having been extended around Manila, a number of expeditions were sent out in different directions. There is such a sameness in the accounts of these numerous movements that I am sure you would not care to read the particulars. Whenever attacked, the Filipinos were driven back with severe losses, while ours were so slight that many people ridiculed the farcical character of the war in the Philippines. Though our troops made steady progress, as may be said, in another sense they secured little substantial gains. After driving out the Filipinos, it would probably be found necessary for the Americans to fall back to their former position, whereupon the natives would swarm into their defenses again, and things would be as they were before.

PASIG RIVER, LOOKING NORTHWARD FROM OLD MANILA.

The Filipinos are treacherous and cunning. They would fire upon our wounded, and upon the surgeons while attending to their duties, and when caught would pledge their friendship to the Americans, but slip away and join Aguinaldo upon the first opportunity. Thoroughly whipped, they would not stay whipped, and the weeks and months dragged by with the end of the guerrilla war apparently as far off as ever.

SPANISH PRISON, MANILA.

General Lawton, the famous Indian campaigner and one of the heroes of San Juan, arrived on the *Grant* March 10 with re-enforcements, and a number of important movements soon followed. MacArthur made a campaign in the direction of Malolos, and there was a good deal of hard fighting, but the Filipinos were steadily pushed back. Malinta was

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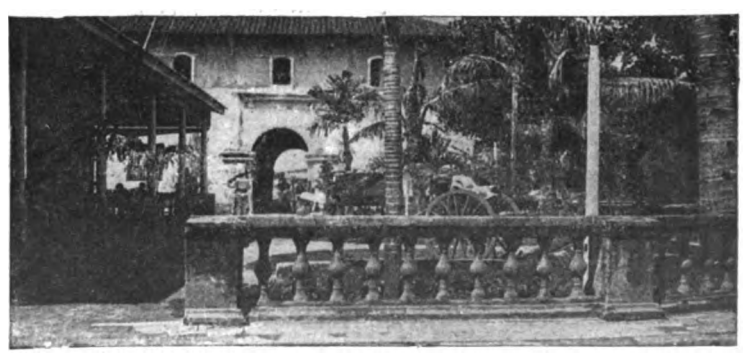
taken March 26, Mariloa fell the next day, and Malolos itself was occupied March 31.

This town, as you know, was Aguinaldo's capital, but of course before our forces took possession the rebel leader and his friends ran away with whatever paraphernalia belonged to the government.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S PALACE, MANILA.

The next expedition was that of General Lawton through Laguna de Bay, Santa Cruz, the principal town on the eastern end of the lake, being his objective point. He left on April 8, and returned to Manila nine days later, after capturing Santa Cruz and several other towns in the neighborhood. No garrisons were left in these places, because of their distance from Manila and the approach of the rainy season.

One of the most notable campaigns of the war was MacArthur's advance northward from Malolos, which was begun April 25. Calumpit, a town of 10,000 population, was taken April 27, when MacArthur crossed the Rio Grande in the face of many difficulties and captured Apalit. You may have heard of the bravery of Colonel Funston and his men of the Twentieth Kansas, when they swam the river in the face of a hot fire of the enemy. This was done at the crossing of the Rio Grande on the date named. The marked daring displayed by Funston led General Otis to recommend his promotion to the rank of brigadier-general, and President McKinley promptly carried out the suggestion, sending also a special message of congratulation to General Otis and his troops for their gallantry and success.



OFFICERS' HEADQUARTERS, MANILA.

MacArthur occupied San Fernando May 5. While the troops were engaged in the movement, General Lawton with his flying column cleared the country to the east and along a line running north from Novaliches to Norzagaray, thence westward by Angat, San Rafael, and Baleinag. A junction was effected with MacArthur's division at Baleinag on May 1. The rainy season being at hand, Lawton, after some more captures, made

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his way to Malolos and was soon recalled from the north to take charge of an expedition into Morong Province, which was successfully carried out.

You will note that the Americans had been doing important work in the north and east. While thus engaged, the insurgents massed to the south and fortified themselves at different points. The attempt was now made to clear them out. It took hard fighting to do it, but it was accomplished, with enormous losses to the Filipinos and few casualties on our side.

One fact is to be noted: there was little opposition to us in the Visayas and southern islands, the trouble being almost wholly to the northward. Such opposition as showed itself was inspired by emissaries from Luzon and the north. The following places were occupied: Iloilo, in Panay, which port is next in importance to Manila; Cebu, ranking next; Bacolod, in Negros; Zamboanga, in Mindanao; and Jolo, in the Sulus. Other rich and prosperous islands have been brought under our influence. General Bates visited the Sulu group, and by tact and discretion effected an understanding with its sultan by which he and his people became friendly, or at least neutral.

One cause of the persistent resistance was the ease with which the Filipinos secured arms, ammunition, and supplies. With a view of stopping this, the navy has made strenuous efforts to enforce a blockade, while our ministers and consuls in Japan and China have redoubled their efforts to check the fruitful cause of mischief.

One of the most notable steps looking to the pacification of the islands was the appointment by our government of the Philippine Commission, composed of President J. G. Schurman, Professor Dean Worcester, Hon. Charles Denby, Admiral Dewey, and General Otis. They held their first meeting in Manila about the middle of March, and after consulting together issued the following proclamation on April 4. The paper, in the opinion of Mr. Denby, is the most important that has appeared since the Declaration of Independence:

"The commission desires to assure the people of the Philippine Islands of the cordial good-will and fraternal feeling which is entertained for them by the President of the United States and by the American people.

"The aim and object of the American Government, apart from the fulfillment of the solemn obligations it has assumed toward the family of nations by its acceptance of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, is the well-being, prosperity, and happiness of the Philippine people and their elevation and advancement to a position among the most civilized peoples of the world.

"The President believes that this felicity and perfection of the Philippine people is to be brought about by the assurance of peace and order, by the guarantee of civil and religious liberty, by the establishment of justice, by the cultivation of letters, science, and the liberal and practical arts, by the enlargement of intercourse with foreign nations, by expansion of industrial pursuits, by trade and commerce, by multiplication and improvement of the means of internal communication, by development, with the aid of modern mechanical inventions, of the great natural resources of the archipelago, and, in a word, by the uninterrupted devotion of the people to the pursuit of useful objects

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and the realization of those noble ideas which constitute the higher civilization of mankind.

"Unfortunately, these pure aims and purposes of the American Government and people have been misinterpreted to some of the inhabitants of certain islands, and, as a consequence, the friendly American forces have, without provocation or cause, been openly attacked. And why these hostilities? What do the best Filipinos desire? Can it be more than the United States is ready to give? They are patriots and want liberty.

"In the meantime the attention of the people of the Philippines is invited to certain regulative principles by which the United States will be guided in its relations with them.

"These are deemed to be the points of cardinal importance:

"1. The supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the archipelago, and those who resist it can accomplish no end other than their own ruin.

"2. To the Philippine people will be granted the most ample liberty and self-government reconcilable with the maintenance of a wise, just, stable, effective, and economical administration of public affairs and compatible with the sovereign and international rights and the obligations of the United States.

"3. The civil rights of the Philippine people will be guaranteed and protected to the fullest extent; religious freedom will be assured, and all persons shall be equal and have equal standing in the eyes of the law.

"4. Honor, justice, and friendship forbid the use of the Philippine people or the islands they inhabit as an object or means or exploitation. The purpose of the American Government is the welfare and advancement of the Philippine people.

"5. There shall be guaranteed to the Philippine people an honest and effective civil service, in which, to the fullest extent to which it is practical, natives shall be employed.

"6. The collection and application of all taxes and other revenues will be placed upon a sound, economical basis, and the public funds, raised justly and collected honestly, will be applied only to defray the regular and proper expenses incurred by and for the establishment and maintenance of the Philippine Government and such general improvements as the public interests may demand. Local funds collected will be used for local purposes, and not be devoted to other ends.

"With such prudent and honest fiscal administration it is believed that the needs of the Government will, in a short time, become compatible with a considerable reduction in taxation.

"7. A pure, speedy, and effective administration of justice will be established, whereby may be eradicated the evils arising from delay, corruption, and exploitation.

"8. The construction of roads, railroads, and similar means of communication and transportation, and of other public works, manifestly to the advantage of the Philippine people, will be promoted.

"9. Domestic and foreign trade and commerce, agriculture and other industrial

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pursuits tending toward the general development of the country, in the interests of the inhabitants, shall be objects of constant solicitude and fostering care.

"10. Effective provision will be made for the establishment of elementary schools in which the children of the people may be educated, and appropriate facilities will be provided for a higher education.

"11. Reforms in all departments of the Government, all branches of the public service, and all corporations closely touching the common life of the people will be undertaken without delay and effected conformably with right and justice in a way to satisfy the well-founded demands and the highest sentiments and aspirations of the people.

"Such is the spirit in which the United States comes to the people of the islands, and the President has instructed the commission to make this publicly known.

"In obeying his behest, the commissioners desire to join the President in expressing their good-will toward the Philippine people and to extend to the leading representative men an invitation to meet them for the purpose of personal acquaintance and the exchange of views and opinions.

"JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN,
U. S. Commissioner.

"ELWELL S. OTIS,
Major-General U. S. A.

"GEORGE DEWEY,
U. S. Navy.

"CHARLES DENBY,
U. S. Commissioner.

"DEAN C. WORCESTER,
U. S. Commissioner."

Hope that this proclamation had accomplished its beneficent purpose was awakened on April 28, when Aguinaldo sent the chief of General Luna's staff as a special commissioner to ask for a truce, with a possible end of all hostilities. When the messenger returned to the insurgent leader, it was with a message that General Otis would accept nothing but the absolute surrender of Aguinaldo. Many persons criticised Otis for taking this abrupt stand, but the general said he had the best reason for doing so. The messenger appeared with new instructions on May 2, but they came to naught.

A message came from Aguinaldo on May 13 that he would send another commission to meet the American representatives, and would be prepared to treat for peace. The members presented themselves a week later, and were shown every courtesy and attention by our army and navy officers. Honest efforts were made to reach a basis of settlement, but at the crisis Aguinaldo's commissioners were found to lack the necessary authority, and, as before, the negotiations resulted in nothing. As we close our record fighting is still going on in a fitful way in the Philippines, and though it has been reported more than once, apparently on good authority, that Aguinaldo was hemmed in and could not escape, yet he has managed to keep up his guerrilla tactics. The fighting and slaughter went on, with the same story, from Manila to Caloocan, to Iloilo, to Jaro, to Cainti, Taguis, Borave, Malolos, Bagbag River, Baleinag, Las Pinas, San Fernando, San Luis, Santa Rita, until General Otis in a dispatch dated Manila, December 12, 1899, reported that all organized rebellion was over and the end in sight.

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The close of the nineteenth century brings a new era in the history of our beloved country. We have acquired Hawaii, a part of the Ladrones, a number of the Samoan group, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, the most magnificent group of islands on the globe. We have entered upon a career of expansion and taken our place among the mightiest nations of the world as one of the leading colonizing Powers. There are some who question the wisdom of this step, whose vast, far-reaching, almost infinite consequences no human eye can foresee; but that America is one of God's chosen instruments in the highest development of civilization, progress, and Christianity the record of the past demonstrates too clearly for anyone to doubt. The Anglo-Saxon must increase and the Latin decrease; and with an unfaltering faith in the Ruler of nations, in his wisdom, his mercy, and his providence, we await the grandest of all missions in the teeming century upon whose threshold we are now standing.

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CHAPTER V.

FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY, 1897–1901 (CONTINUED)—OUR LEADERS IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

HAVING learned of the principal events in our late war with Spain and in the Philippines, you cannot fail to feel an interest in the personality of the leaders, and I may add in the soldiers and sailors themselves. In every struggle in which we have been engaged from the earliest colonial times to the present, the Americans have proven that there are no braver or more patriotic people in the world. This was shown as markedly in the last struggle as in all that preceded it.

Where there were so many thousand daring sailors and soldiers, of course I can refer to them only in a general way, but the names of the leaders have been in all mouths; and every boy and girl will be glad to learn something more about them than is told in the simple accounts of their naval or military deeds.

If you were asked to name the foremost man of the war, you would instantly say "Admiral Dewey," and you would be right, for he certainly stands head and shoulders above all others, despite the many splendid records that have been made. Perhaps some of my young readers were present in New York in the month of September, 1899, when the Admiral reached home. If so, they will not forget the scene, for it was the grandest and most impressive that has ever been witnessed in this country. New York has welcomed many heroes and great men to her shores, but never did she do it so magnificently and overwhelmingly as when the gallant *Olympia*, steaming from the other side of the world, allowed her illustrious commander to meet the glowing faces and hear the frenzied cheering of the hundreds of thousands gathered from every part of the Union to do him honor.

George Dewey was born at Montpelier, Vt., December 26, 1837, his father being Doctor Julius Yemans Dewey, who had a daughter and two sons besides him destined to become one of the greatest naval heroes of modern times.

There was nothing in the boyhood of young Dewey worthy of special mention. He was as mischievous as almost all healthy youngsters are, and was so bad indeed that he headed a rebellion in school and got soundly trounced for it as he deserved. He entered the Naval Academy at Annapolis September 23, 1854, when seventeen years old. That he was as ready as ever to fight for his rights was proven when upon being insulted by a cadet from the South, he caused him to measure his length on the ground. Dewey was challenged to a duel, and accepted the challenge. Either he or his opponent would have been killed had not a number of the cadets, seeing the danger, interfered and prevented the meeting.

The class which was graduated in 1858 numbered fourteen, and the rank of Dewey was five. Two years were spent in the usual cruise abroad, during which he visited

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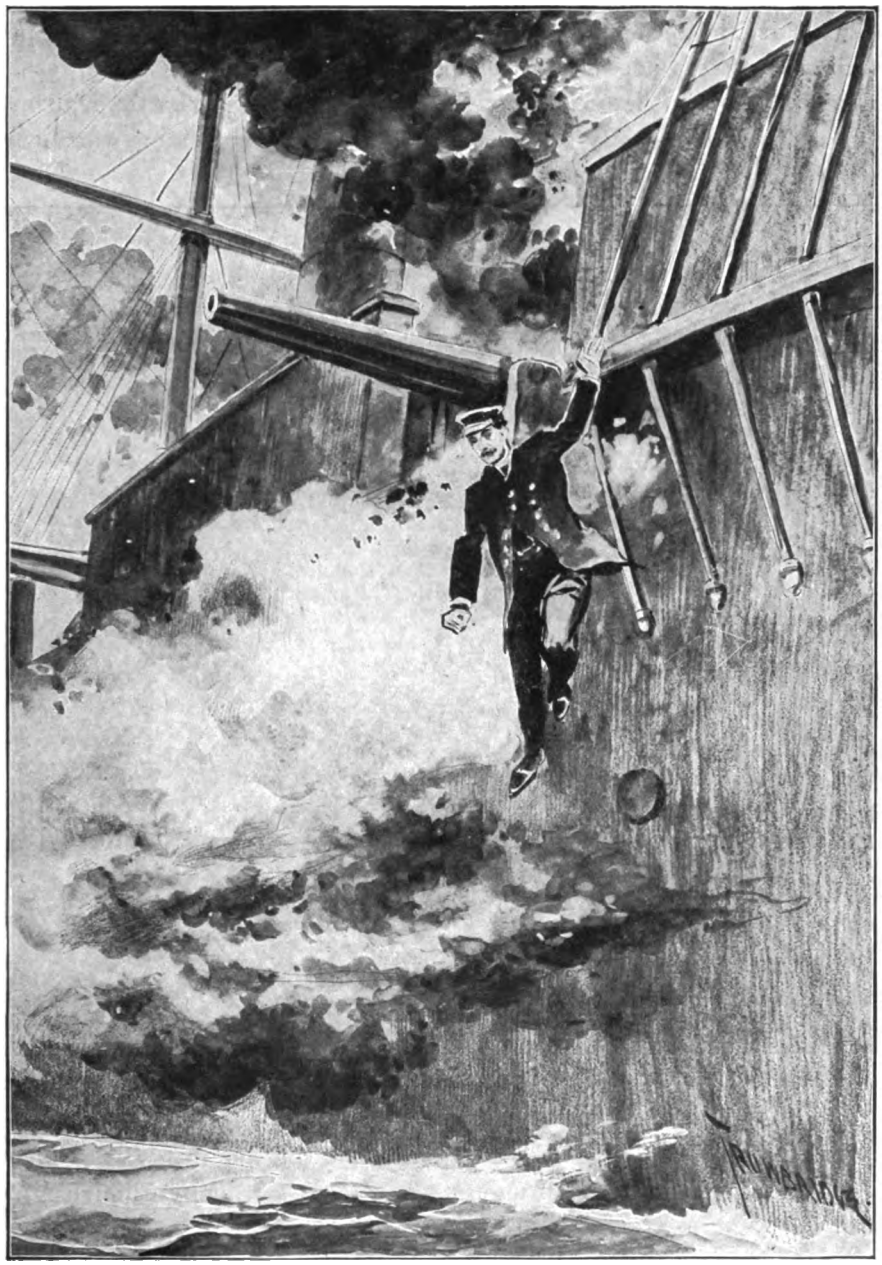
many foreign lands. Returning to Annapolis to be examined for his commission, he led all the class, his final rating being three. He returned to his home at Montpelier to



GEORGE DEWEY LEAVING THE BURNING "MISSISSIPPI" AT NEW ORLEANS.

enjoy a brief vacation, and was there when the news of the firing on Fort Sumter thrilled the whole country.

There may have been hesitation on the part of many others as to which side they should take in the great war impending, but there was none on the part of Dewey.

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One week after the news reached his home he received his commission as lieutenant and was ordered to the steam sloop *Mississippi*, attached to the Western Gulf Squadron, and the only side-wheeler in the fleet. Grand old Farragut raised his flag over this fleet in February, 1862, and began his preparations for the capture of New Orleans, the first and most important step necessary in opening the Mississippi.

You have learned in the proper place all about this severe battle, which resulted in the capture of the leading city of the extreme South. No young warrior ever began

THE ARCH ERECTED "TO THE GLORY OF THE AMERICAN NAVY AND IN GREETING TO OUR ADMIRAL."

his career with a more terrific experience. The following picture of Lieutenant Dewey, who coolly kept his place on the bridge of the *Mississippi*, is by Chief Engineer Baird, U. S. N.:

"I can see him now in the red and yellow glare flung from the cannon-mouths. It was like some terrible thunderstorm with almost incessant lightning. For an instant all would be dark and Dewey unseen. Then the forts would belch forth, and there he was, away up in the midst of it, the flames from the guns almost touching him, and the big shot and shell passing near enough to him to blow him over with their breath, while he held firmly to the bridge rail. Every time the dark came back I felt sure that we

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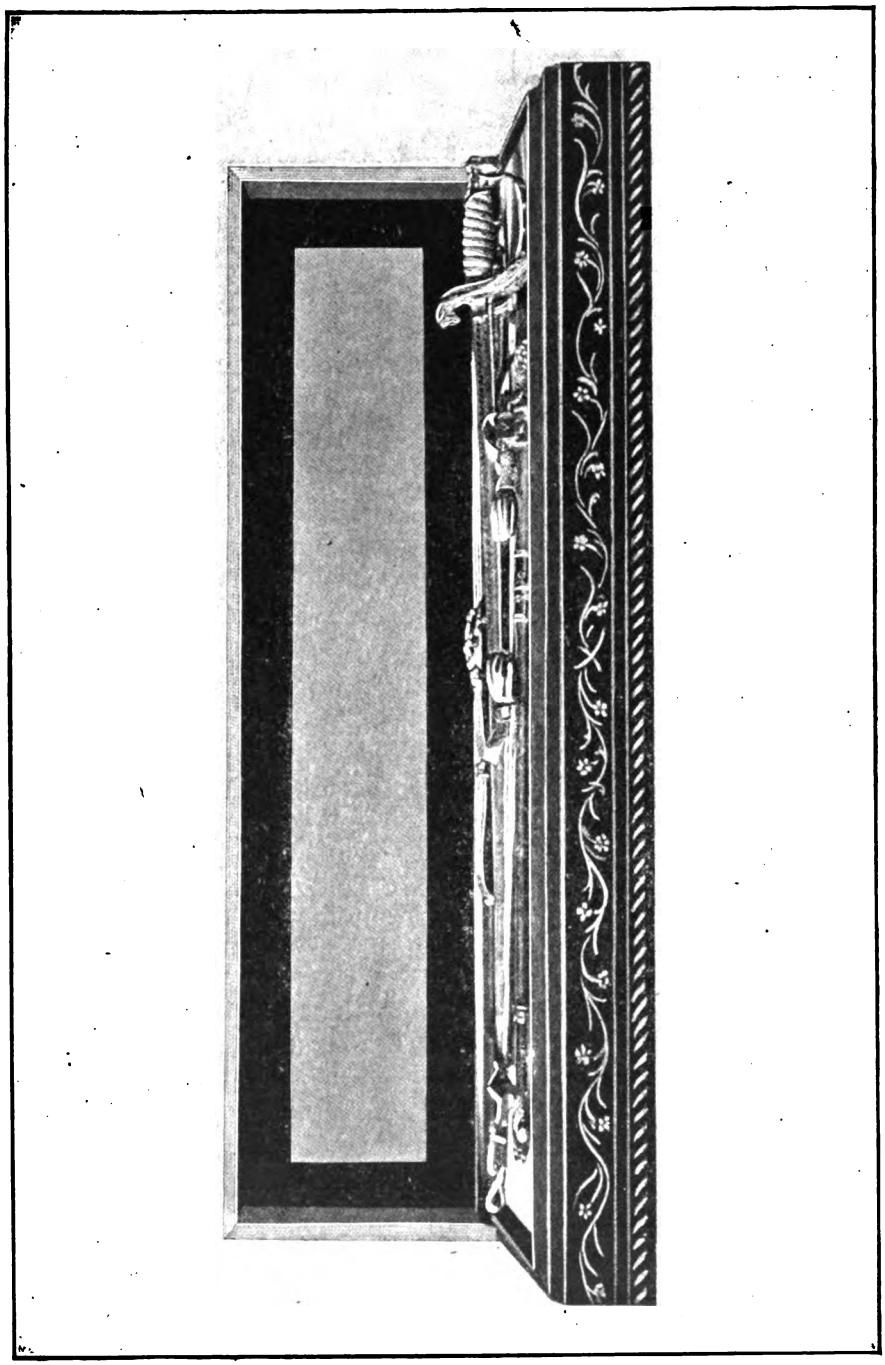

THE "SWORD OF HONOR" PRESENTED BY THE U. S. GOVERNMENT TO ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY.

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would never see Dewey again. But at the next flash there he stood. His hat was blown off and his eyes were aflame. But he gave his orders with the air of a man in thorough command of himself. He took in everything. He saw a point of advantage and seized it at once. And when from around the hull of the *Pensacola* the rebel ram darted, Dewey like a flash saw what was best to be done, and as he put his knowledge into words, the head of the *Mississippi* fell off, and as the ram came up alongside the entire starboard broadside plunged a mass of iron shot and shell through her armor, and she began to sink. Her crew ran her ashore and escaped. A boat's crew from our ship went on board, thinking to extinguish the flames which our broadside had started and capture her. But she was too far gone. Dewey took us all through the fight, and in a manner which won the warmest praise, not only from all on board, but of Farragut himself. He was cool from first to last, and after we had passed the fort and reached safety, and he came down from the bridge, his face was black with smoke, but there wasn't a drop of perspiration on his brow."

You remember that after the fall of New Orleans, Vicksburg remained and proved the hardest nut of all to crack. Farragut arrived with his fleet below Port Hudson, defended by almost resistless batteries, and made ready to run past them. To do this, he formed his vessels in pairs, each of the heavier ones taking a gunboat on its port side, the only exception being the *Mississippi*, of which Dewey was still first lieutenant.

The gantlet was a fearful one indeed. Several vessels were destroyed by the terrific fire poured from the bluffs, and the *Mississippi* was the last of the eight which made the attempt. She passed all the batteries with slight harm, but while steaming ahead under full speed ran so violently aground that it was impossible to work herself free again. For half an hour she backed and tugged, and in the end was more firmly imbedded in the mud than before. The Confederates were quick to perceive her plight, and rained a tempest of shot and shell upon her. The only possible escape for the officers and crew was to abandon her. The commander gave orders to spike the port battery and throw the guns overboard, but before that could be done the fire of the enemy grew so hot that the men had to make all haste out of the doomed ship. She was hurriedly set on fire in several places, and the last two to leave the blazing craft were her captain and Lieutenant Dewey. Soon after, she blew up, having suffered a loss of twenty-five men killed and a larger number wounded.

Dewey was a powerful swimmer, and when, at the last moment, he was compelled to leave, he did not wait for a boat, but plunged overboard. He had taken only a few strokes, when he saw one of the sailors with a badly wounded arm, making frantic efforts to save himself. He would have drowned but for young Dewey, who swam to his side, towed him to a buoyant piece of the wreck, helped to place his well arm over it, and then, since he was in no further danger, his rescuer swam ashore.

Lieutenant Dewey's vessel being lost, he was transferred to the *Monongahela*, whose commander was killed by a masked battery. Dewey succeeded to the command, and handled the vessel and crew with great skill. He often congratulated himself that it seemed always to be his good fortune to get into the hottest of the fighting; but in the present instance before the chance came Port Hudson surrendered.

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His next change was to the North Atlantic Squadron, where he was assigned to the gunboat *Agawam*, of which he became executive officer, but she was an unarmored side-wheeler, carrying only eight guns, and therefore did no special service. Transferred once more, this time to the *Colorado*, he conducted himself with such gallantry and excellent judgment at the capture of Fort Fisher that he won the highest praise from his superior officers.

Two months after, Lieutenant Dewey received his first promotion. He was made lieutenant-commander, and assigned to the *Kearsarge*, which had won undying glory by sending the Confederate cruiser *Alabama* to the bottom of the sea. The war came to an end soon after Dewey's promotion, and he was transferred to the steam frigate *Colorado*, the flagship of the European squadron. In every situation to which he was called he proved himself a model officer, just but kind, firm but generous, and as quick to reward as to punish. He was the idol of the men who served under him, for no one is quicker to recognize true manhood than the "men behind the guns."

ADMIRAL DEWEY VIEWING THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH.

Lieutenant Commander Dewey was ordered home early in 1867, and assigned to duty at the Kittery Navy Yard, at Portsmouth, N. H. While engaged there he met Miss Susan B. Goodwin, daughter of the "War Governor" of the State. The two formed a strong attachment for each other, and amid the best wishes of their numerous friends were married. Dewey was soon after placed on duty at the Naval Academy at Annapolis, where he remained two years. He was then given command of the *Narragansett*, and on April 13, 1872, was advanced to the rank of commander. A son, George Goodwin, was born to him December 23, but the saddest blow of his life came to the father five days later when the mother died. The son, who is still living, showed none of the taste of his parent for a seafaring life, and, after his graduation from Princeton College, engaged in business in New York, which is still his home.

Now followed three years of service in making surveys on the Pacific coast, then as lighthouse inspector, and afterward as secretary of the Lighthouse Board. In 1882–

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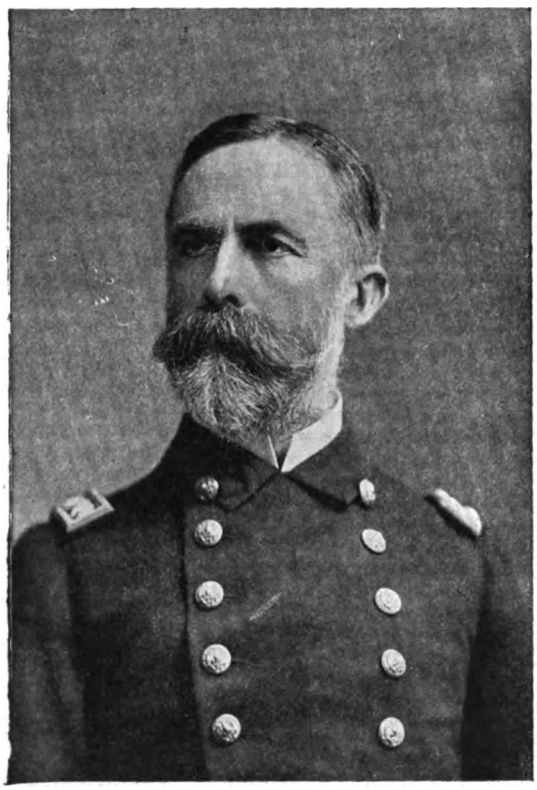
83 Dewey commanded the *Juniata*, on the Asiatic Squadron, and became captain in September, 1884, when he took charge of the *Dolphin*, one of the four vessels that formed the noted "White Squadron."

In 1888 he was made chief of the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting, which appointment carried with it the rank of commodore, though it was not until eight years after that the honor was formally conferred upon him. He served for four years, and in 1893 once more became a member of the Lighthouse Board. His commission as commodore was placed in his hands February 28, 1896, and soon after he was made president of the Board of Inspection and Survey. Then followed his appointment to the command of the Asiatic Squadron and his wonderful services in the Philippines, all of which and much more you will find freely set forth in the "Life and Letters of Admiral Dewey."



REAR ADMIRAL WILLIAM T. SAMPSON.

Admiral Dewey, having well earned a vacation, sailed from Manila on the afternoon of May 20, 1899, for home. He proceeded at moderate speed, passing through the Suez Canal, and making his first brief halt at Colombo, Ceylon, and next at Trieste, where he arrived on the morning of July 20. He called at Naples, then at Leghorn, and then at Villefranche, arriving at Gibraltar on the last day of August, where quite a stay was made. In all these places he was received with the highest honors and the consideration due so illustrious a guest.

In the gray misty light of the morning of September 26 the *Olympia* steamed up New York Bay, arriving two days sooner than was expected, either by the Admiral himself, or the people waiting to greet him. Then followed the grand, magnificent, overwhelming demonstration which is too fresh in the minds of all for me to give the particulars. Never in the history of the metropolis of the New World was anything seen that could be compared to it. The weather was superb, and the people crowded into the city by the hundred thousand to give him a fitting reception. He was greatly touched by the loving tributes from his countrymen, for it was such as would have thrilled the heart of Washington, of Grant, of Lincoln, or of Farragut, or any of the great men whose names are written high on the roll of fame as lovers of their native land.

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What may be considered the climax of honor came in the city of Washington on Tuesday, October 3, when in the cool, crisp, sunshiny air, Admiral Dewey, after being officially received by President McKinley, was presented by Secretary Long with the superb ten-thousand dollar sword that had been ordered months before by Congress. This is one of the most beautiful and costly weapons ever made, and the sword blade bears the inscription: "The gift of the Nation to Rear Admiral George Dewey, U. S. N., in memory of the victory at Manila Bay, May 1, 1898."

Admiral Dewey was relieved from active service at his own request, and on November 9 was married in Washington to the widow of General William B. Hazen, U. S. A. Thus we leave him, joining with his grateful countrymen in wishing him and his life partner the many years of happiness to which they are fully entitled.

When the blockade of Havana was determined upon by our government, Captain William T. Sampson was placed in command of the United States naval forces at Key West. There was some criticism in thus placing an officer in a position in which he outranked more than one senior; but though, as you have learned, he was unfortunate in being absent from before Santiago, at the time of the destruction of Admiral Cervera's fleet, no one can doubt his eminent fitness for any important command.

REAR ADMIRAL WINFIELD SCOTT SCHLEY.

He was born in Palmyra, N. Y., February 9, 1840, and in 1857 obtained an appointment as midshipman to the Naval Academy, from which four years afterward he was graduated at the head of his class. That, you will notice, was at the opening of the Civil War. He first served as master on the frigate *Potomac*, where he won promotion to the rank of second lieutenant in 1862. He was on duty on the practice ship *John Adams*, and the *Colorado*, the flagship of the European Squadron. On January 16, 1865, he was ordered, as executive officer of the ironclad *Patapsco*, to destroy the submarine mines in Charleston harbor, in front of which the Union fleet had established a blockade. The duty was perilous in the extreme, and the *Patapsco* was blown up and sunk, seventy men meeting their death, while twenty-five were saved, Sampson being picked up one hundred feet from the sunken ironclad, whither he had been blown by the explosion.

The war soon ended, and Sampson was made lieutenant-commander in 1866, while

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serving on the *Colorado*. He was on duty at the Naval Academy from 1868 to 1871, and on the *Congress* in 1872 and 1873; he became commander in 1874, and was assigned to the *Alert;* from 1876 to 1878 he was again at the Naval Academy, and the following year commanded the *Swatara* in China. At other times he commanded the *Iowa* and the *San Francisco*, and was chief of the Bureau of Ordnance from 1893 to 1897, in which position he worked so arduously that his health was seriously threatened. His subsequent career has been given in the account of the Spanish-American war.

Winfield Scott Schley, to whom some give the credit for the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Santiago, was born in Maryland, near Frederick, October 9, 1839, and was graduated from the Naval Academy at the head of his class in 1861, just in time to take full part in the Civil War. He was given shore duty at once on the frigate *Potomac*, was promoted to master in 1862, and ordered to the *Winona* of the blockading squadron of the West Gulf. He was in many skirmishes along the Mississippi, and once, under a hot fire, helped in cutting out two schooners, for which he was honorably mentioned in special orders. He became lieutenant in 1862, and from 1864 to 1866 was an executive officer of a gunboat, on which he served on the Pacific Station. In the year last named he was made lieutenant-commander, served three years at the Naval Academy, and helped defeat the forces defending the Salu River in Corea. He was next engaged for some time at the Naval Academy, at the head of the department of modern languages, and, after being made commander in 1874, spent five years on the North and South Atlantic Stations and the western coast of Africa.

You will remember that Commander Schley was in charge of the relief expedition which rescued Lieutenant Greely and six companions when at the point of death in the Far North, while engaged in the vain attempt to reach the North Pole. For this he received a gold medal from Congress and was promoted to chief of the Bureau of Equipment, with rank of captain. He resigned some time later, and was placed in command of the *Baltimore*, which figured in the troubles at Valparaiso that came near resulting in a war with Chili. Upon the breaking out of hostilities with Spain he was given command of the Flying Squadron, whose valuable services were made familiar to you in the account of the destruction of Admiral Cervera's fleet, and which resulted in the promotion of Schley to the rank of rear admiral.

I am sure you have not forgotten the story of the wonderful run of the *Oregon* from San Francisco to Jupiter Inlet, Florida. She was in charge of Captain Charles Egbert Clarke, who, like Admiral Dewey, was born in Vermont, from which he entered the Naval Academy in September, 1860. Upon his graduation, in 1863, he was appointed ensign, and served in that grade throughout the remainder of the Civil War. He conducted himself bravely and with great credit at the battle of Mobile Bay and the bombardment of Fort Morgan, after which he passed rapidly through the lower grades and became lieutenant-commander March 12, 1868, and commander November 15, 1881. He was in charge of the *Ranger* from 1883 to 1886, and in 1891 was stationed at the Navy Yard, Mare Island, California. He was promoted to captain June 21, 1896, and two days before the *Oregon* started on her famous trip he was placed in command of

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that warship. His health was so injured by the severe strain, that after the close of the war he was relieved of active command and given charge of the League Island Navy Yard, Philadelphia.

Captain Robley D. Evans, better known as "Fighting Bob" Evans, although a native of Virginia, was appointed to the Naval Academy from Utah, graduating in 1863, and becoming ensign the same year. He began his picturesque career on the steam sloop *Powhatan* of the West Indian Squadron, and almost immediately was thrown into the hottest kind of fighting. He took part in both of the land attacks on Fort Fisher, January 15, 1865. He was so severely wounded that, when dragged from under the lifeless bodies piled upon him, he was believed to be dead. Upon regaining consciousness, the surgeon was preparing to amputate his leg as the only means of saving his life. Evans had still possession of his revolver, and, drawing it, he swore he would kill the surgeon upon the first move to cut off his leg, which he feared would prevent his future active service.

The surgeon waited until he sank into sleep from sheer weariness, when the doughty fellow was chloroformed and the leg taken off; but, to his delight, he was allowed to continue in active service. He was assigned to the League Island Navy Yard in 1866, and became lieutenant the same year; lieutenant-commander March 12, 1868; was on shore duty from 1870 to 1872, and then served successively on the *Shenandoah*, *Congress*, and *Saratoga;* was promoted to commander, July, 1878; was lighthouse inspector from 1882 to 1886, and in the following year became chief inspector of steel cruisers, serving as secretary of the Lighthouse Board until 1889.

His bold course while in command of one of the United States vessels in the harbor of Valparaiso, during the Schley incident just recorded, gave him the title of "Fighting Bob." Upon his own request, he was placed in command of the *Iowa* on the breaking out of the last war, and you know what an account he gave of himself at the time our fleet was occupied in destroying that of Spain.

Turning our attention now to the army, you may be surprised to learn that Nelson A. Miles, the commander of all the land forces, is not a graduate of the West Point Military Academy, which has furnished our country its most famous and successful military leaders. He was born at Wachuset, Massachusetts, August 8, 1839, and just as he had attained his majority he went to the front as lieutenant of a company of volunteers which he had raised himself. He took all his savings, borrowed more money, equipped the company, and, upon its being mustered into service, the Governor made him captain; but, thinking him too young, recalled the appointment, and he went to war as first lieutenant.

General O. O. Howard was attracted by the brightness and soldierly bearing of the young officer, and placed him on his staff. At the battle of Fair Oaks he was desperately wounded, but, stanching the blood by gripping the ghastly wound in his neck, he was carried for a mile and a half on a stretcher and made his report to General Howard. Upon his recovery he entered heart and soul into the war, was wounded both at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, won rapid promotion for his gallantry and skill,

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and after the war served twenty years on the border, where his courage, tact, and judgment attracted the attention and admiration of the government, and finally carried him to the highest military rank in the army.

General William R. Shafter was a gaunt, awkward country boy in Michigan (where he was born October 16, 1835) when the Civil War broke out, and entered the service as first lieutenant in the Seventh Michigan Infantry. He served with distinction, advancing in succession to the rank of major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel, winning the latter for gallant service at the battle of Fair Oaks, becoming brevet brigadier-general in March, 1865.

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM R. SHAFTER.

General Shafter now began his career as an officer against the troublesome Indians in the West, and was thus actively engaged for thirty years. He won credit for his services in the Indian campaigns in Texas, New Mexico, and along the Rio Grande. In spite of the arduous character of the work, the slim, gaunt youth of 1861 steadily grew in girth until he has attained a present weight of more than three hundred pounds. He was made brigadier-general May 4, 1897, and was placed in command of the Department of California, from which he was summoned to take charge of the military operations in Cuba.

General Joe Wheeler gained a distinction in Cuba and the Philippines which perhaps was not surpassed by that of any other military leader. One fact drew favorable attention to him: he had been among the most famous cavalry officers in the service of the Confederacy in the Civil War, and was the first ex-Confederate to offer his services to the national government. He was born in Alabama September 10, 1836, and upon entering West Point was nicknamed "Point Wheeler," because of his diminutive size, his weight scarcely exceeding one hundred pounds. Entering the Confederate service, he commanded a brigade at Shiloh; was in charge of General Bragg's cavalry at Green River and Perryville, and led the cavalry at Murfreesboro' and Chickamauga. In a raid in Tennessee in 1863 he destroyed national stores to the value of $3,000,000. Full of activity, he never seemed idle. He fought hard at Knoxville, Missionary Ridge, and Lookout Mountain, harassed General Sherman on his march to Atlanta, and fought at Atlanta and Aiken. His popularity at home was shown by his election to Congress as a Democrat in 1880, and his repeated re-election until he resigned to take part in the

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T. JEFFERSON COOLIDGE. JOHN A. KASSON. CHARLES J. FAULKNER. SIR WILFRID LAURIER. SIR LOUIS DAVIES. SIR JAMES WINTER.
JOHN W. FOSTER. THE LATE NELSON DINGLEY. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS. THE LATE LORD HERSCHELL. SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. JOHN CHARLTON.

THE BRITISH AMERICAN JOINT HIGH COMMISSION, CHARGED WITH ADJUSTING ALL OPEN QUESTIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

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war against Spain. General Wheeler, as I have said, was the first ex-Confederate to offer his services to the government, and his emotions must have been peculiar when he donned the blue instead of the gray uniform. The story is told that when about to make a charge in Cuba, he shouted in the excitement of the moment:

"Now, boys, we've got 'em on the run! Give it to the Yankees—I beg pardon, the Spaniards!"

His example was a striking proof of the full and complete reunion of the North and South and the ardent loyalty of that section which once fought so hard to overthrow the Union.

Colonel "Teddy" Roosevelt of the Rough Riders is another of the picturesqure heroes of the war. His impetuosity, bravery, dash, fearlessness, his honesty and integrity, his frankness and thorough Americanism, have won him a warm place in the hearts of his countrymen. He belongs to a prominent family, and fought his way to the front and won his proud position through sheer merit and worth. He was born in New York October 27, 1858, and was graduated from Harvard in 1880. He studied law, and in his first year out of college was elected to the Assembly of New York, being re-elected three times. President Cleveland appointed him a Republican member of the United States Civil Service Commission, and by his ability, conscientiousness, and aggressiveness he gained the respect of all. On May 1, 1895, Mayor Strong made him a Police Commissioner of New York, and he soon effected many needed reforms. Through the favor of President McKinley he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy, April 6, 1897, and had much to do with the successful administration of naval affairs. To him more than to any other man was due the appointment of Commodore Dewey to the command of the Asiatic Squadron. In the autumn of 1898 Roosevelt was elected Governor of New York, by a plurality of more than 18,000.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER.

Major-General Henry W. Lawton attained great distinction in Cuba and the Philippines, previous to which he was one of the most successful Indian fighters in the service. He entered the army as a sergeant of volunteers, immediately after the firing upon Fort Sumter, became a first lieutenant in August, 1861, lieutenant-colonel in November, 1864, and was mustered out with the rank of colonel for gallant and meritorious services. He was appointed to the regular army in 1866, and transferred to the cavalry as first lieutenant in 1871. He reached the rank of captain March 20, 1879, and as such engaged in some of the hardest Indian campaigns in the history of the Southwest. In recognition of his valuable services he was promoted

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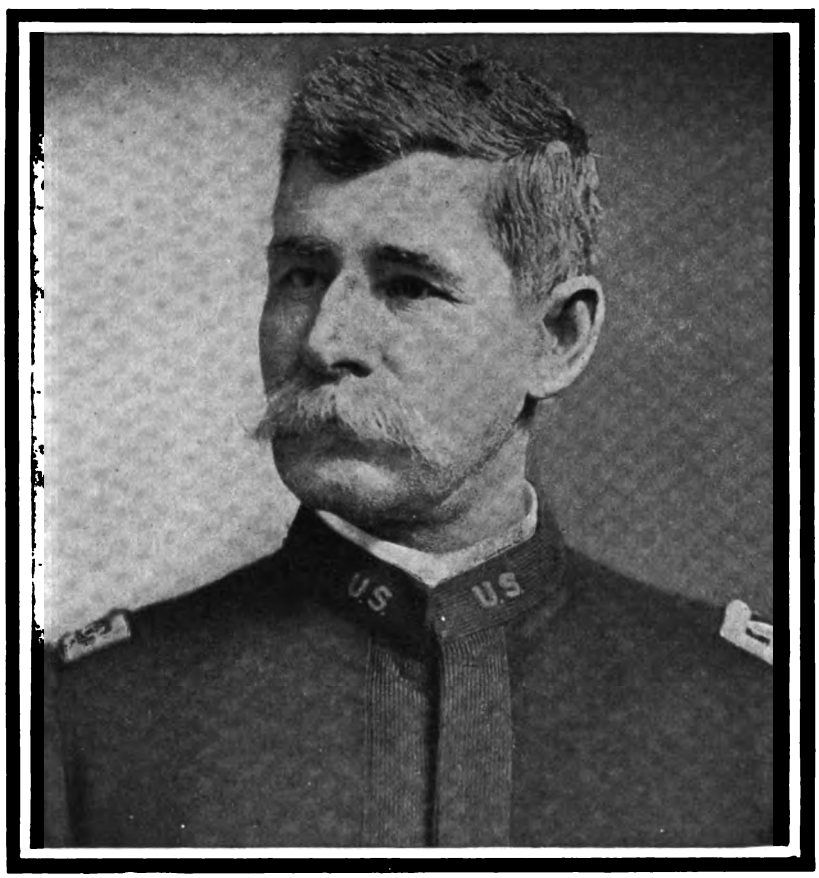
to the Inspector-General's department, with the rank of major, in 1888. A year later he became lieutenant-colonel, and at the outbreak of the war with Spain was appointed brigadier-general, his splendid work at Santiago winning him the stars of a major-general, which none wore more worthily than he.

General Lawton was one of those thorough soldiers who are absolutely fearless in the discharge of duty. His services in the Philippines were of the most valuable nature, and were appreciated no less by his brother officers than by the country at large. He



MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY W. LAWTON.

allowed nothing to divert him from his task, and such was his contempt for personal danger that he scorned to use the advantage of cover to which many other brave men resorted when in the presence of a treacherous enemy. It was because of this trait, that, while seated on his horse in action at San Mateo, he was shot dead on the morning of December 19, 1899.

When it became known that General Lawton had left his wife and children practically penniless, the heart of the great American nation was quick to respond to the suggestion that a fund should be raised to place them beyond the possibility of want, and the response was as prompt as it was generous. The fund speedily reached the sum

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of $98,450, which General Henry C. Corbin turned over to the widow on the 22d of February, 1900. Although the country can never fully pay its debt to General Lawton, yet the following letter from his widow is a touching expression of her gratitude to the American people for their practical remembrance of his services:

"*Dear General Corbin:*

"Such kindness as yours can never be repaid, and my heart is very full when I try to thank you. Words seem very poor at such a time. Will you please believe that I do appreciate it, and all my life will find comfort in the remembrance? The universal feeling which prompted such wonderful generosity from the nation is so beautiful to me, and so dear, my gratitude is inexpressibly profound. It has relieved the one anxious thought Henry would have had, and I do not know how to thank you or the nation. Believe me, with kind regards,

"Very sincerely,

"MARY C. LAWTON."

General Elwood S. Otis, chief in command in the Philippines, was born in Maryland in 1838, but has spent most of his life in New York. He was graduated from Rochester University in 1858, and a year later admitted to the bar. He entered the Law School of Harvard in 1859, for the purpose of grounding himself more thoroughly in his knowledge of law.

Upon the outbreak of the Civil War he went to the front as captain of volunteers, becoming colonel of his regiment and brigadier general of volunteers in 1864. He was engaged in many battles, and was severely wounded at Weldon Road, Virginia. This wound, made by a ball entering his face just to the left of his nose, and passing out back of his ear, caused him great suffering and led to his mustering out in January, 1865, when he received new brevets for services at Spottsylvania and Chapel House, Va.

His military leanings caused him to return to the army in 1867 as lieutenant-colonel of infantry, he being promoted to a colonelcy in February, 1880. For the succeeding fourteen years he served in Indian campaigns, and in 1883 organized the Infantry and Cavalry School at Leavenworth, Kan., which has been exceedingly valuable in the training of young officers. After thirty-one years of service he was commissioned a brigadier-general in 1893, and upon going to the Philippines was made a major-general. He was ordered home and left Manila May 5, 1900.

General Arthur MacArthur has proved himself without a superior as a fighter in the Philippines. He began his career as a youth of nineteen in the Civil War, as a first lieutenant, becoming a major two years later, and at Appomattox he was brevetted colonel for bravery. Two months later he was appointed lieutenant-colonel. and held that rank at the close of the war. He obtained the appointment of second lieutenant in the regular army, was steadily promoted, and when sent to the Philippines was made brigadier-general of volunteers. He was born in Massachusetts, but has generally made his home in Wisconsin. He succeeded General Otis in the Philippines.

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CHAPTER VI.

FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY, 1897–1901—CONTINUED—THE TROUBLE WITH CHINA.

CHINA is one of the most wonderful countries in the world. No other people has a continuous history stretching so far back among the dim centuries, when mankind was in its infancy. You know that we have a large population in the United States and that it is growing fast, but that of China is more than five times as great,being estimated at 400,000,000.

The general constitution of China is that of a federation of provinces, each under the control of a provincial governor, and loosely held together by a religious, educational and social system which has remained substantially unchanged for thousands of years. China is thus not an empire in the commonly accepted sense, the central power in the hands of the Manchu conquerors having largely the functions of a regulating authority. The Chinese represent a fusion of various peoples, mostly of Mongolian stock, speaking a number of dialects.

You are acquainted with the appearance of a Chinaman, for there are more than a hundred thousand in this country, and you meet them everywhere. Most of our laundries are in their hands, and these strange people, with their blue blouses, their cloth shoes with wooden soles, their long black hair, generally braided in a knot, and coiled upon the back or top of the head, their almond-shaped eyes, and their unfamiliar speech, are a familiar sight in all our large cities.

The Chinese require very little to live on, and they will save money where an American could hardly keep from starving. They are meek and patient, and some of them make the best of household servants. But they are amazingly shrewd and cunning and do things in business that are as hard to equal as some of their tricks in magic. Those who ought to know say that no other nation is as sharp and successful in their dealings as they, and if you ever make the test with them, I have no doubt you will form the same opinion.

We have a fairly reliable history of China for about twenty-seven hundred years, before which time there are only traditions. The Tartars became masters seven hundred years ago, but a century later were driven out by the Chinese. Then, about the middle of the seventeenth century the Manchus gained the sovereignty of the empire, which they have ever since retained.

Bear in mind that although the Chinese are what we call heathen, and missionary work has been pushed for years among them, yet they have three forms of belief, known as Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. These are so closely related that many Chinamen profess all three, and there is nothing inconsistent in doing so. Buddhism and Taoism do not prevail to a great extent and are losing ground.

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Confucius was the greatest character in Chinese history and it may be said that all the people believe in his doctrines. He was a great teacher who lived nearly twenty-five hundred years ago. He did not proclaim a religion, for he said nothing of a personal God, but his system related solely to social and political life, with numerous excellent maxims, which many of us could obey with advantage to ourselves and the community.

COLOSSAL BRONZE STATUE OF BUDDHA.

The memory of this extraordinary man is held in profound reverence throughout the Yellow Empire.

A Chinaman is the most conservative of men. No one hates change as much as he. What was good enough for his remote ancestors long centuries ago is good enough for him and all who come after him. He is willing to let other people live in his country

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and worship God as they choose, and he will not interfere with them, but when they try to supplant Confucianism, to introduce railways, telegraphs, manufactures and modern ideas, his rage is stirred. He worships his ancestors and all progress he looks upon as an unpardonable insult to their memory. There naturally follow vicious outbreaks, in which the Chinese are as ferocious and merciless toward the "foreign devils" as so many wild Indians of our own country. Remembering their fierce hatred of everything in the nature of change, you will understand the cause of the terrible outbreak in the summer of 1900, which for weeks and months caused the most painful anxiety throughout the civilized world.

Of course China with its wealth of natural resources has long been looked upon with covetous eyes by other nations, who have made every effort to open trade with her. It was hard work to pierce the shell in which she had encased herself, but it was gradually done, until most of the civilized people had secured ports and established profitable commerce with her.

The progress of the western Powers in pushing their way into the Celestial Empire was not brought about without many warnings of the dangerous anger of the people. In 1897, several German missionaries were murdered, whereupon Germany, by way of punishment, secured a foothold in the country, and Russia and England, jealous of their neighbor, snatched more territory. This was in the northern part of China, where the Boxer uprising began.

The name "Boxer" is apt to be misleading, for there is nothing in China of the nature of boxing as we understand it. The term is a free rendering of the Chinese name of the organization, "The Fist of Righteous Harmony." The aim of this powerful and numerous society was to drive all foreigners and their reforms from China and to bring back the empire to its ancient exclusiveness. The civilized Powers may chop off hundreds of heads in any province in China by way of punishment for outrages, and the next day, if the opportunity offers, the survivors, who witnessed the execution of their friends, will commit the same crime, even though it is certain their heads will have to pay for the acts. One of the strange peculiarities of the Chinese is their indifference to death. To them it is of no more importance than smoking a pipe of opium.

In 1894 a war with Japan over the possession of Korea, resulting in the victory of the Japanese, left the Chinese Government weakened and embarrassed. A long-sought opportunity was thereby afforded to the European powers of obtaining a foothold in China, which they did by securing valuable concessions in return for loans of money. This foreign influence became a source of danger to the government, and greatly intensified the national hatred of outsiders.

You have heard of the "open door" with respect to China, which means that all nations shall be entitled to the same privileges in trading with her. Great Britain insisted upon this arrangement and the United States gave its moral support to the claim. In 1899, affairs in China were in the hands of the Dowager Empress, a woman intensely hostile to all foreigners and their methods, and the leaders associated with her were as savage in their resentment as she. The nominal emperor was a miserable youth, without the slightest influence. The Empress did not dare come out openly in favor of the

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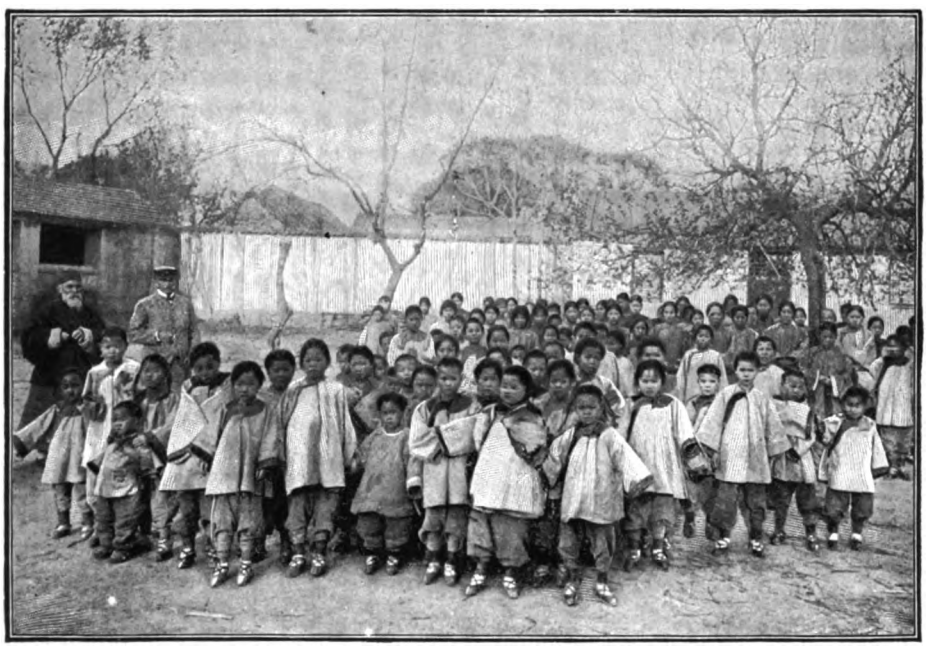
ferocious Boxers, but she was with them heart and soul, and in many of their outrages the government troops sided with them.

Thus matters stood when in the summer of 1900 news came that a large number of missionaries and their families were besieged in Peking by the Boxers, who were determined not to spare a man, woman or child; nor would the fanatical hordes have done so, had they been able to lay hands upon them. The news that reached the outside world seemed to leave little hope for these imperiled ones, and more than once despair settled in the hearts of their friends. Their dreadful peril aroused the sympathy of all



A TYPICAL CHINESE MISSION SCHOOL.

nations, which determined to make a determined effort to rescue them, though nearly everyone believed it was impossible for friends to force their way to Peking in time to be of help.

The allies who joined in this work were the Americans, Japanese, British, Germans, French, Austrians and Italians. Their fleets hurried to Chinese waters, where twenty-nine warships lay at anchor off Taku on June 27. Several weeks before our minister Conger, and Sir Claude Macdonald, the British minister at Peking, begged that stronger guards should be sent them. At a meeting of the consuls some of them were so slow that our Captain McCalla was disgusted and said he would not wait another day. The British were of the same mind, and troops were landed the next day, and four trains started for Peking, carrying a force of about 1,800, of whom one-half were British, with 112 Americans and a few Italians, Austrians, French, Germans, Russians and Japanese.

This force soon became involved in severe fighting, for the Boxers had torn up the tracks and attacked the foreigners in immense numbers. The Chinamen appeared in the rear as well as the front, and there seemed to be no end to their numbers, so that even

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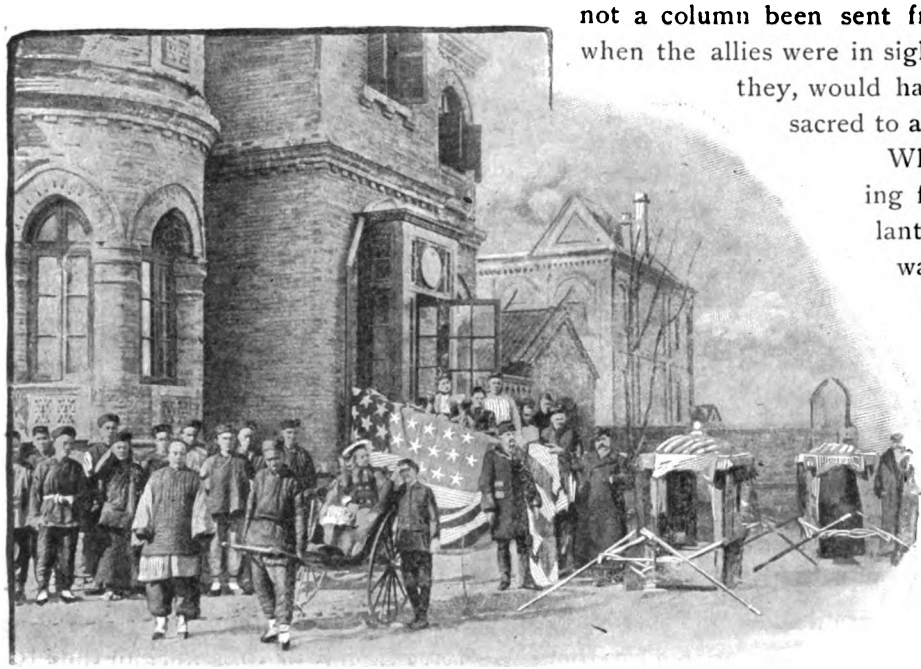
if they were poorly armed, they were sure to crush the little force in the end. Captain McCalla and Vice-Admiral Seymour agreed that the only course that could save them was to retreat without delay. The expedition therefore turned about and reached Tientsin on the 26th, having failed to get nearer than twenty-five miles to Peking and having suffered the loss of almost three hundred men. This reverse brought home the seriousness of the situation and resulted in the summoning of General Chaffee from Manila.

The return to Tientsin was of the most difficult nature, for there was fighting all the way, and only the splendid bravery of the white men, who were hampered by the commands being necessarily given in many different languages, saved the force from annihilation. In this fighting the Chinese regulars were recognized among the Boxers. Had not a column been sent from Tientsin, when the allies were in sight of the city, they would have been massacred to a man.



AMERICAN CONSULATE-GENERAL AND HEADQUARTERS, TIENTSIN, CHINA.

While the relieving force was gallantly pushing its way toward Peking and then back again before it could gain a sight of the imperial city, startling occurrences had taken place there. The Japanese Chancellor of the Legation was killed by the members of the Empress' Guard on June 12 and on the 20th the German minister was murdered. Two days before the Ninth United States regiment was ordered from Manila to China with other troops soon following.

On June 17, the allied fleets landed at Taku and captured the fort, and three or four days later shelled Tientsin. On the 23d, the united forces landed, and occupied the foreign quarter of the city. Some complaint was made in this country because our commander, Admiral Kempff, refused to take part in the bombardment of Tientsin, but his refusal was based on orders from Washington, and was the right thing to do. We were not at war with China, and such an act would have been a declaration of war on our part. When feelings had time to cool, all saw the wisdom of the admiral's course.

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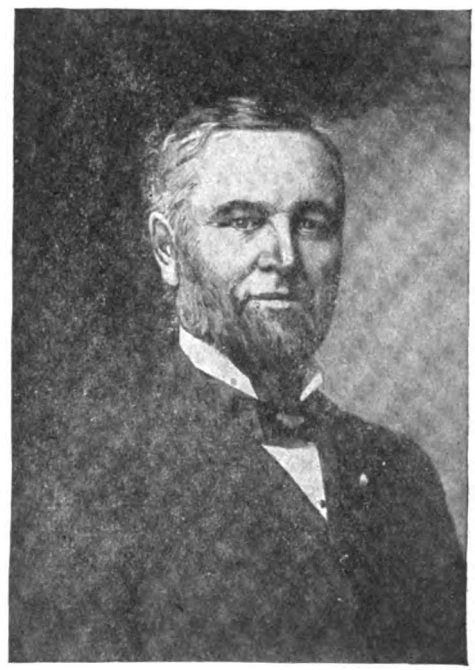
It took the hardest kind of fighting to capture Tientsin, but it was accomplished, and the allies entered the native city on July 14. The Chinese had suffered an appalling loss, the dead being everywhere, while of the allies 700 were killed and wounded. But the relief column was not yet at Peking, which lay a long way inland. The most urgent messages begging for relief had come from the legations. In Tientsin days were spent in looting the city. The plundering, robbing and violence would have disgraced a party of savages. The only ones who behaved with decency were the Americans and Japanese.

The preparations for an advance upon Peking were hurried, and the start from Tientsin was made on the afternoon of August 4. The expedition was composed of Americans, Japanese, British, Russians, Germans, French, Austrians and Italians. Of these the Japanese were the most numerous, and it must be said of them that they were the best disciplined, and were surpassed in bravery and generalship by none. The only ones who could compare in these respects with them were the Americans. The advance was by land and river, and included some 18,000 fighting men, of whom 2,400 were Americans under the command of General Adna R. Chaffee, one of the finest officers of our army. The Japanese numbered some 12,000.



EDWIN H. CONGER.

Not only were the opposing Chinese overwhelming in numbers, but many of them were armed with the best modern weapons, and they displayed a bravery and skill that were a revelation to the invaders. To many the shuddering thought came: What would not China be able to do, if *all* her men were thus trained and armed? Some timid ones have said that the day is coming when the mighty empire will thus be girt for the struggle and then she will take an appalling revenge for the sufferings forced upon her by civilized peoples. But this can scarcely be, for the combined Christian Powers must always dominate the world and the material in China is not of the right sort ever to menace Christendom.

Fighting continuously, the allies pushed on, sometimes checked, but for only a brief while, suffering severe losses, often prostrated by the suffocating heat, and held back by the many natural obstructions, as well as the occasional reckless daring of the Chinese, who, as has been said, astonished the rescuers by the bravery they often displayed, mixed also now and then with a cowardice that was grotesque.

In all this arduous work, the Americans and Japanese were foremost, and General Chaffee, his officers and gallant soldiers gave further proofs that Americans have no superiors anywhere in the world. Among our killed was the lamented Colonel E. H. Liscum, who fell at the storming of Tientsin, and Captain Reilly, slain at Peking. On

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the 14th of August, just before noon, the Dowager Empress and her associates having fled, the imperial city was entered, the Americans being the first to pass through the gates.

The whole world felt a dreadful anxiety over the fate of the men and women shut up in the legations in Peking. Sometimes, when all hope was abandoned, a message would be reported from that great city where the hordes of Boxers were clamoring for the lives of the little band, and we would say, "They are still alive and making a brave fight for their lives; the allies are pushing forward to their relief with the utmost possible vigor and there is hope that they will be saved." Then, when we were thus cheered, doubt would be thrown on the possibility of such a message having been sent through the Boxer lines, and it would seem as if the last spark of hope had expired. Once a large number of people gathered in London to unite in memorial services for the dead, but decided to refrain until more definite tidings were received.

The most torturing news was to the effect that the little company in Peking were alive on a certain date, perhaps a week or ten days previous, and the allies were now almost within sight of the city. If this were true, it only intensified our anxiety, for it was cruel to the last degree to think our friends had perished with aid so near at hand.

But finally they were rescued, and all thanked God and listened with rapt interest to the stories told by those who had passed through the siege, which seemed to many one of the most marvelous experiences of modern times. And yet there was nothing specially noteworthy about it after all. There were many more trying sieges during the Sepoy Mutiny in India, and far more distressing tests of endurance in our own country during the Civil War. The appalling feature at Peking was the certainty that the whole company were in danger of massacre. The temperature was not intensely hot, though once or twice it touched 100 degrees; the British legation, where the people took refuge, included twenty buildings, covering eight acres, so there was nothing in the nature of crowding; there was no lack of food, for mules and horses were plentiful, and no one has the right to complain, under like conditions, so long as such food is available. The Protestants, Catholics, foreigners and natives, thus brought together, numbered not quite 4,000; the real siege lasted 56 days, and the deaths were 68, with a considerable number wounded. This record can bear no comparison with scores of sieges with which history teems.

The capture of Peking was the decisive blow of the war. Whenever China has dared to raise her hand against the civilized nations, she has inevitably been driven to the wall. With the Dowager Empress and the court in headlong flight, their final halting place being at the ancient capital 600 miles further inland, all semblance of native government vanished, and the struggle was substantially over. But the vast empire was in a state of unrest and turmoil. An army ten times the size and strength of the invaders could not have established peace at once; everywhere the natives were specially incensed against their countrymen who had embraced Christianity, and whenever and wherever they could lay hands on them showed them no mercy. They were subjected to horrible tortures, and many foreign missionaries suffered death, because

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they were so far removed from Peking that the allies could not extend them a helping hand.

But as has been said, the fall of Peking on August 14, 1900, meant the fall of the formidable Boxer revolt, and negotiations for peace were opened without delay with the Chinese authorities. The conquerors demanded that an embassy headed by an imperial prince should carry an apology to Berlin to the emperor for the assassination of the German minister; a memorial monument was to be erected on the scene of the murder, with an inscription expressing the regret for the crime; the death penalty was to be inflicted upon eleven princes and officials who were named; all officials who failed to prevent outrages upon foreigners in their districts were to be dismissed and punished; indemnities were to be paid; the forts at Taku and at other places were to be demolished and the importation of arms prohibited; permanent legation guards were to be maintained; imperial proclamations suppressing Boxers were to be posted for two years throughout the empire, and negotiations were to be entered upon to facilitate commercial relations with civilized nations.

China is destined to play an important part in the history of the civilized Powers of the world, and since our own country has become one of those Powers, you must see how necessary it is to understand our status in these great questions. We have now and shall have for an indefinite time to come an interest in the Orient. The most skillful diplomacy is necessary to protect that interest, for the negotiations which have been going on for many months are like a game in chess, where a mistake by one of the players is sure to bring his overthrow and defeat.

On the 1st of October, 1900, Germany made a modified proposal designed to meet the objections of Great Britain and the United States to the effect that it was impracticable to defer the negotiations of peace until the Chinese government had surrendered to the different Powers for punishment the high officials implicated in the Boxer outrages. China was eager for the conclusion of such negotiations, but she had to await the action of eight nations whose sluggishness was due to their jealousy of one another. The crisis was a momentous one, for a blunder on the part of one might lead to a general war with all its attendant horrors.

Amid this universal unrest and uneasiness, the United States government serenely announced that the only reason for the presence of American troops in China was to protect our citizens, and as soon as that was secured, the soldiers would be brought home. The progress of negotiations showed a community of interests on the part of the United States, Germany and Great Britain. We took the broad ground that our only interest in the Yellow Empire was to secure general opportunities for trade and for such intercourse as is universal among civilized peoples. Russia, France, and later, Germany, were ambitious for a colonial policy in the Far East. Japan was watchful, alert and modest. Her marvelous strides in civilization and development during the last generation have brought her to the front among the powerful nations of the world, all of whom clearly saw that she must be reckoned with in the settlement of future international questions in which her interests are involved.

On October 5, the French government sounded the other Powers as to the adoption

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of a common programme for the negotiations in China, which may be summed up as follows: The punishment of the principal culprits, who were to be indicated by the representatives of the Powers at Peking; the maintenance of the prohibition of arms; equitable indemnities to states, societies, and individuals; the formation of a permanent guard for the Peking legations; the dismantlement of the fortifications; and military occupation of two or three points on the road from Tientsin to Peking.

These proposals were as a rule favorably received, but the United States considered some of them unnecessarily severe, and proposed a modification, as follows: The representatives of the Powers at Peking might suggest the names of additional officials for punishment; the interdiction against the importation of arms should be a question for the negotiators to settle; in the event of differences on the question of indemnities, they

THE FORBIDDEN CITY—IMPERIAL PAVILION, HALL OF CLASSICS, CONFUCIAN TEMPLE.

should be submitted to the Hague international court of arbitration; the President could not assist in the establishment of a military guard at Peking without authorization by Congress, and he reserved his opinion as to the dismantlement of fortifications; similar action was necessary concerning the protection of the roads from Tientsin to Peking.

On October 19, the Chinese Minister Wu at Washington placed in the hands of the President a telegraphic communication from the Emperor of China thanking him for taking the initiative in the withdrawal of troops from China and for his friendly offices with the other offended Powers. In his reply, the President intimated that negotiations

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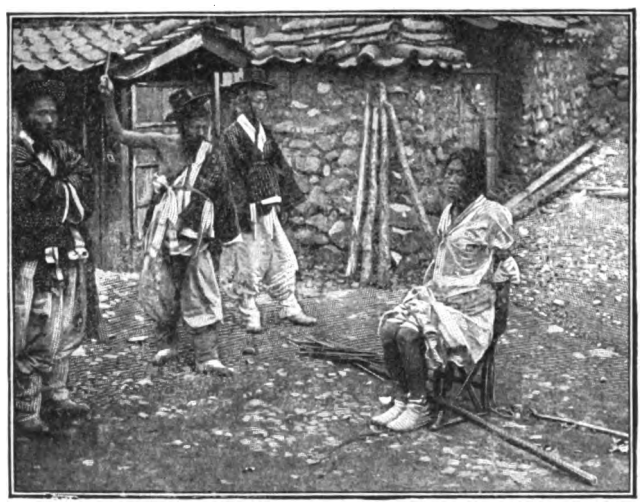
would begin as soon as the different governments became convinced of the Emperor's ability and intention of meting out justice to the principal offenders. China had admitted that she had done wrong, offered reparation and promised to provide against the recurrence of disorder. In fact, in accordance with her custom, she stood ready to do about all that the most resentful government could demand of her.

Although a Chinaman is often an example of the most absolute meekness, the government could not restrain its impatience for a settlement of the difficulties. On October 19, the diplomatic corps received a joint note from Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching urging the ending of the strained situation and the treating for peace, accompanied by the assurance that the princes and ministers who were accomplices of the Boxers would be handed over to the courts for trial and punishment. The French minister replied, naming four of the foremost men of the empire, who were so prominently identified with the atrocities that hostilities could not cease so long as their heads remained on their shoulders. The German Office was not satisfied with the list of officials which China engaged to punish. There was a general distrust too of the sincerity of the Chinese proposals. Reports were spread that certain officials whose punishment was demanded had died, or committed suicide. Many foreigners familiar with the subtlety and cunning of the Chinese asked: "How are we to know of a certainty that when Prince Tuan, Prince Chwang, Kang Yi or Tung Fu Hsiang is brought out and executed in the presence of the various representatives, it is really he who has suffered death? The general resemblance in features among the Chinese makes identification on our part exceedingly difficult; this resemblance can be made so close as to be almost impossible of detection; a small sum will bring forward any number of substitutes to take the place of the condemned, and those Celestials, inimitable in their magic, will fool us right before our wide-open eyes."



CHINESE EXECUTING A BOXER PRISONER.

Further disquiet was caused by rebellions in South China. While the government was pledging itself to repress all disorder, formidable outbreaks took place in more than one quarter. The air was surcharged with doubt, uncertainty and suspicion, and the peace negotiations made little or no progress. Nor was the universal distrust lessened by certain knowledge that Chang Yen-Hoon, one of the most brilliant men in China, formerly minister to the United States, and a devoted advocate of true reform and progress, had been beheaded by order of the Empress Dowager on July 20.

It would be uninteresting and unnecessary to follow step by step the negotiations

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that were carried on among the different governments for the establishment of peace. You will bear in mind that the great difficulty was the jealousy already referred to among the various Powers, which revealed itself at every step, despite the endless assurances of distinguished consideration and the exchange of effusive compliments. By the close of October, it was announced that the United States, Russia, France, Austria, Italy and Japan accepted the Anglo-German agreement, which in effect was the very policy that had actuated the United States from the first, to secure through the efforts of the governments interested an open door in China to all nations for trade, resolutely to abstain from the seizure of any land in China, and to influence so far as possible all other governments to do the same. Early in November, it was announced in Washington that three important questions were to be settled: the removal of the pestilent Dowager Empress from all participation in the government; the creation of an indemnity fund by some form of increase of the customs revenue; and the appointment of a minister of foreign affairs, instead of the useless block to all progress, the Tsung-li Yamen.

The progress of events was slow and tedious. When one difficulty was surmounted others still more formidable seemed to rise in its place. There were numerous outrages in South China and anarchy reigned in many quarters, affording the strongest proof of the imbecility, insincerity and weakness of the imperial government. Russia was dissatisfied with the severe terms imposed by the Germans and British upon the Chinese, as tending to intensify and prolong their hatred toward all foreigners. Some of the smaller Powers showed an eagerness to get possession of territory in China, and the jealousy of the Powers was more sharply marked than before.

Still, the important business was slowly advancing. On January 17, 1901, Minister Conger reported to Washington that the Chinese had duly signed, sealed, and delivered the peace protocol, and thus opened the way for negotiations for a final treaty. The points of this protocol may be thus summarized:

1. An imperial prince was to head an extraordinary embassy to Berlin with an expression of the emperor's regret for the assassination of Baron von Ketteler, and on the site of the murder a memorial monument was to be erected with an expression in Latin, German and Chinese expressing the regret of the emperor and of the government.

2. The most severe punishment was to be visited upon certain prominent officials, who were to be designated by name.

3. Reparation was to be made to Japan for the murder of her chancellor.

4. Expiatory monuments were to be erected in all foreign cemeteries where tombs had been desecrated.

5. The importation of arms or material for making arms and ammunition was to be prohibited.

6. Equitable indemnities were to be paid to states, societies and individuals, and China was to adopt financial measures acceptable to the Powers to guarantee the payment of such indemnities.

7. The Powers were to be authorized to maintain permanent legation guards and to place the legation quarter in a state of defense.

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8. The Taku forts and such as interfered with free communication between Peking and the sea were to be destroyed.

9. All points necessary to secure free communication between Peking and the sea were to be occupied by foreign military.

10. Imperial edicts were to be posted for two years throughout the empire warning all of the capital punishment that would be visited upon every person joining an anti-foreign society, and the various officials were to be held responsible for any and all outrages in their districts.

11. China was to negotiate with the foreign governments as to conditions suitable for trade and shipping regulations and mercantile transactions.

12. The Foreign Office was to be reformed and the court ceremonials for the reception of foreign ministers were to be changed. Until these conditions were complied with, the foreign Powers could hold out no promise of the withdrawal of their troops then occupying Peking and the provinces.

Delay, procrastination, and an interminable discussion over minor as well as important points have always characterized negotiations on the part of China. She may have been impatient for the establishment of peace and the withdrawal of the foreign troops, but she could not abandon her moss-grown system of delay. It became the turn of the Powers to grow irritated and impatient, for the expense of maintaining military forces in that distant land was enormous, while over all brooded the danger of some terrific international complication springing from some seemingly most trivial incident. Yet much of the delay was due to the Powers themselves, because of their jealousy of one another and on account of the various ends which they had in view. As the negotiations progressed it became clear that one or two were bent on securing additional territory. This was notably the case with Russia, whose course more than once awakened distrust and even protest. She met all these with the calm assurance of the purity and disinterestedness of her motives, but never ceased to try to edge her way into Manchuria.

At the joint session on February 5, the foreign envoys submitted a list of twelve leading Chinese officials whose punishment was demanded. It was found that two of the dozen were dead, and would have to be punished in the peculiar Chinese fashion by a formal memorial degradation. As was expected, China strenuously opposed the infliction of the death penalty upon any official of imperial blood, and it was finally agreed on February 20 that the sentences of Prince Tuan, Duke Lan, and General Tung Fusiang should be commuted to life imprisonment, while six others were to be put to death. On the 26th two of the notable official criminals, Chi-Hsin, the former grand secretary, and Hsu Cheng Yu, were beheaded at Peking. The first named met his fate with the calmness of his race, while the second was stupefied with opium. The misery and suffering in most of the provinces continued.

On March 15 our government ordered the evacuation of China by American troops at the end of April, but this did not take place until May. The principal troops were to be returned to Manila, but a legation force of 150 was to remain. It was also announced that most of the French force would be withdrawn, with a gradual withdrawal of the British troops. General Chaffee fully carried out his orders from Wash-

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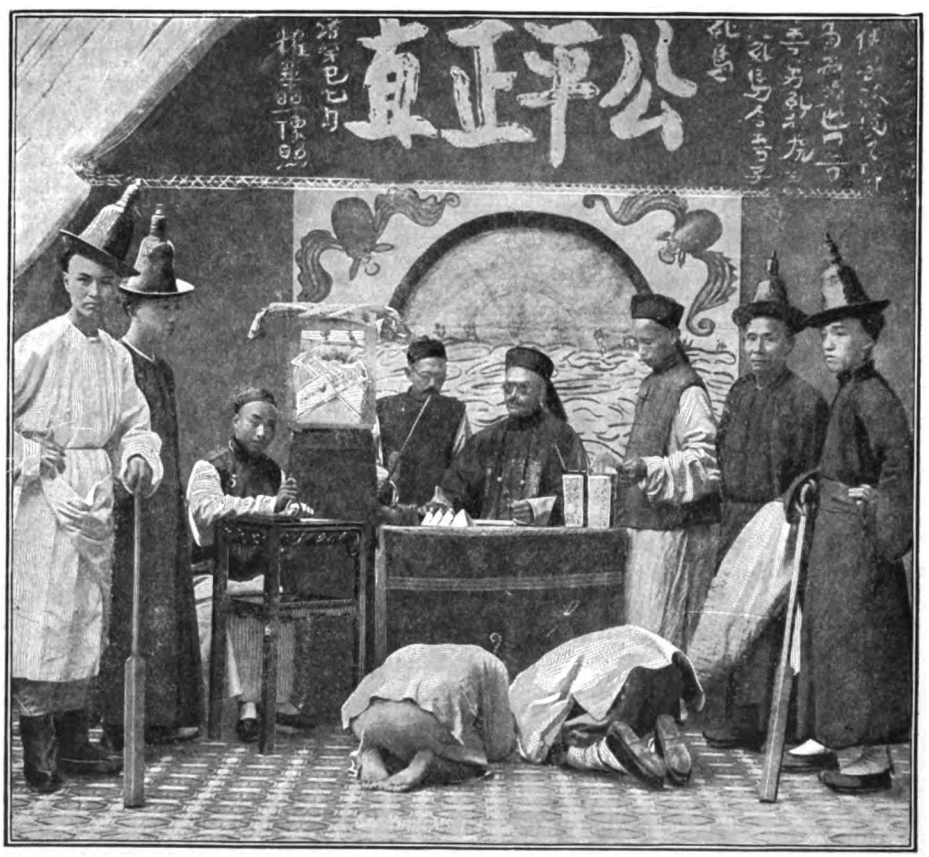
ton to take no part in punitive expeditions. About this time the results of an investigation were reported as showing the murder of 240 persons connected with missionary work and more than 30,000 Chinese converts. Of the foreign victims, men, women, and children, there were 113 British Protestants, 78 Americans, with a few Scandinavian helpers; 49 Roman Catholics, French, Italian, Belgian, Dutch and Germans.

The distrust of Russia steadily grew, for there could be no doubt that, in the face of her verbal assurances to the contrary, she had deep designs upon Manchuria. These, however, were defeated for the time by the refusal of China's signature to the Manchurian convention. All the same, Russia tenaciously maintained a quarter of million of troops in Manchuria for the purpose, as she announced, of "preserving order." This



CHINA—A COURT OF JUSTICE.

was especially distasteful to Japan, whose statesmen declared that their empire would never consent to aggressive action on the part of Russia.

The policy of the United States was clearly defined in a circular from the Secretary of State, in which he declared:

"The policy of the government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace in China, preserve Chinese territorial and

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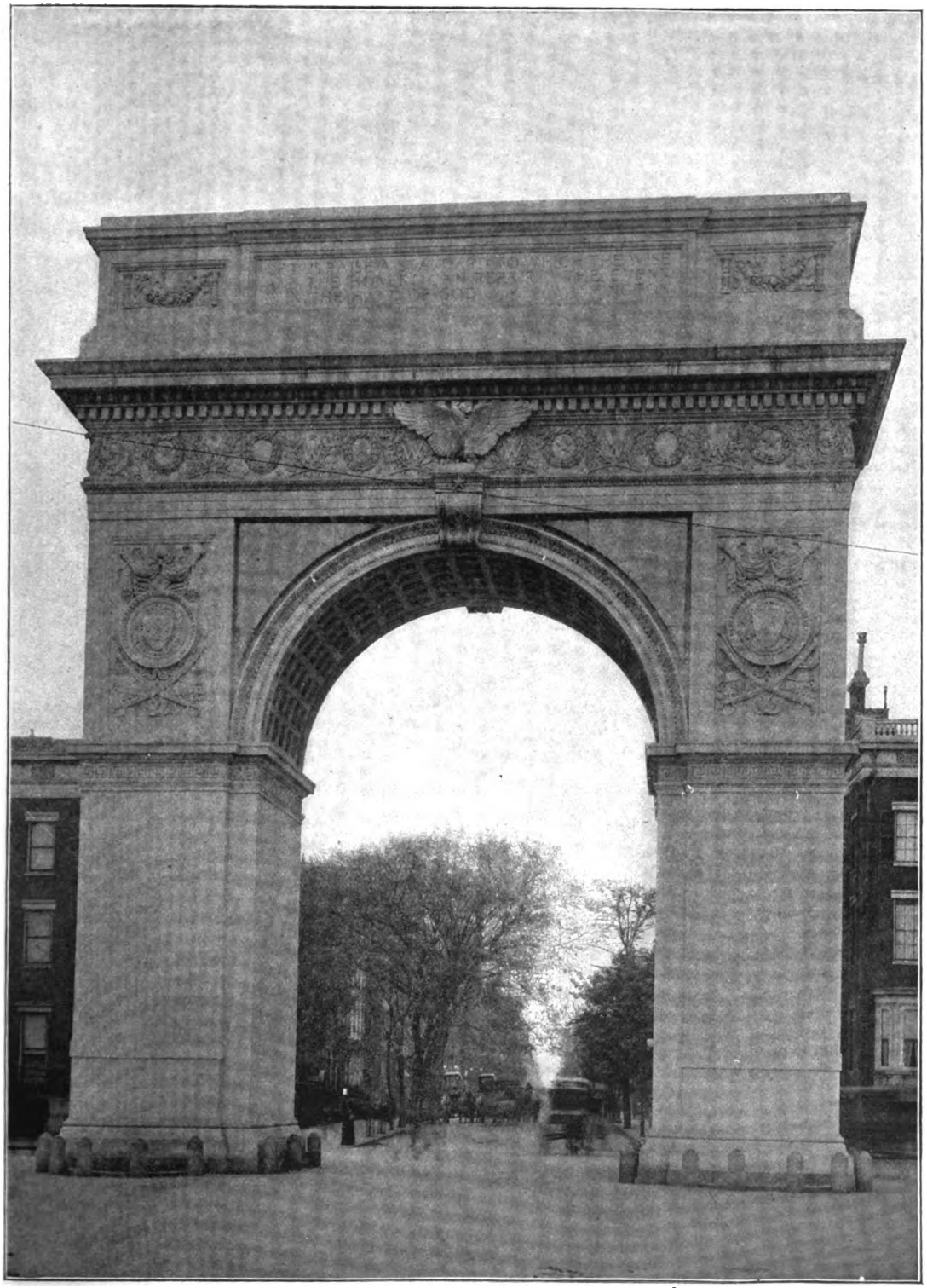

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administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese empire."

Our government officially requested that the sum total of the indemnity to be extorted from China be kept within the limit of $200,000,000, beyond which it was believed China was unable to go. It was furthermore asked that this demand be made in gross, the respective proportions to be agreed upon by the foreign plenipotentiaries in Peking, or, if that was impossible, to be referred to the International Commission of Arbitration at The Hague. The United States offered to cut in half its claim for indemnity, provided the other nations would make similar reductions.

The withdrawal of the American troops makes it appropriate to quote from the report of Lieutenant Thomas Franklin, 23d Infantry, who was one of General Chaffee's aides in the march to Peking:

"The American soldier has incomparably the most generous supply and the best quality of food. For the mere convenience in handling and for the protective quality of the packages in transport, the Japanese and British excelled. In camp cleanliness and sanitary arrangements the Americans excel all others—the Germans next, followed by the British, while the Russian and French camps were disgusting. In transportation, the American wagon system surpassed all others, though the British and Russians also were very good: one American defect was that not on all the wagons were the spare parts interchangeable in case of wreckage. In clothing and equipment, the Americans were better clothed, that is, more sensibly for cold weather, though not with such admirable leather equipments as the British and Germans. In one point the Americans were decidedly inferior—in military appearance. The men and the officers showed a lack of proper pride in their appearance; they were careless and slouchy in their dress; this to the foreigners indicated a lax discipline, which, however, it is not. In the spirit of humaneness and regard for the rights of others, the Americans showed themselves unequaled.

"The British and Americans always flocked together, sometimes joined by the Japanese. The Russian 'kept to himself,' as did the German and the Frenchman, except that the Frenchman was occasionally seen in the Russian camp."

The United States continued to urge the Powers to agree to a reduction in the total amount of the indemnity demanded to $200,000,000. Great Britain was willing to consent to a reduction, but not to the amount named. By a formal vote of May 24 the proposal of our government was unanimously rejected. The Chinese government was informed by a collective note of the envoys that the Powers would require for losses and expenditures until July a sum equal to about $337,000,000, and China was requested to admit her liability for this amount. On May 12 China accepted the demand.

The discussion which followed brought matters to a deadlock before the middle of July, owing to the radical differences between Great Britain and Russia over the plans for the payment of the indemnity by China, whose proposal to extinguish the debt in 1940 instead of 1950 was formally accepted. Japan sought to increase her amount from $23,000,000 to about $27,000,000, and our government, admitting the justice of

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such demand, promptly agreed to it, but others objected, whereupon Japan magnanimously withdrew the request. On July 26 the ministers of the Powers formally notified China of the acceptance of her offer, whose total amount of principal and interest by the year 1940, when the full debt is to be extinguished, will be about $700,000,000.

Delay and uncertainty continued for months, and it was not until September 7, 1901, that the Chinese plenipotentiaries were authorized to affix the final signature to the peace protocol. Numerous changes had been made and summarized. It provided:

Punishment of the guilty leaders of the Boxers who had not yet suffered the penalty; stipulating that the indemnity fixed should be paid to the foreign Powers during the thirty-nine years following, with interest at four per cent.; prohibiting import during the two ensuing years of arms and munitions of war; suspending for the ensuing five years the government examinations for office in all centers of the Boxer revolt and out-

GROUP OF CHINESE MANDARINS.

rage; razing the Chinese forts at Taku; permitting the establishment of foreign military posts on the road from the sea to the capital; granting to foreign governments the right to maintain military guards at the legations; prohibiting anti-foreign societies; providing for the necessary amendments to the commercial treaties, and supplanting the cumbersome Tsung-li-Yamen by a regularly organized foreign office on the European model.

The agreement required the troops to evacuate public places, including the Forbidden City, before September 17, and within the following five days all the expeditionary

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troops in the provinces except the garrisons were to be withdrawn. Grounds for hope would have been found in the promises of the Chinese government to institute vigorous reforms dared anyone place reliance upon the sincerity of such promises.

One of the most remarkable episodes connected with the Boxer outbreak was the mission of expiation to Germany for the assassination of the German minister. Emperor William formally received this mission at Potsdam, September 4. Prince Chun, the Chinese imperial envoy, with his suite of a dozen officials, presented a letter of apology from his brother, the emperor. The prince entered without receiving any salute from the outside guards and gravely bowed three times. Emperor William, grim and solemn, looked sternly at him and kept his seat until the apology, written in yellow ink, had been read. Then he read his reply and throwing off his frigid manner gave the envoy a friendly welcome. Rising to his feet he extended his hand, a salute roared from the guards, and the strange scene was over.

The Chinese troops re-entered Peking, September 17, the charge of the city being transferred to them by the American and Japanese forces, who were formally thanked by the Chinese officials for their protection of the palace. By the close of the month the city was entirely quiet.

In the midst of the negotiations Earl Li Hung Chang, the foremost man of China, one of the greatest oriental statesmen that ever lived, and the warm admirer and friend of General Grant, died on the 7th of November, 1901. He was succeeded by Yuan Shi-Kai, who had gained renown as the governor of one of the most turbulent districts in China.

The work done by Special Commissioner Rockhill was submitted in a report to Congress in the month of December, 1901. More than a year had been spent in pressing the policy of preventing a partition of China, and giving the hoary empire a chance to place herself alongside the other nations that were sweeping forward on the path of reform and progress. You have already been told that the influence of this government was consistently exerted for reducing the vast indemnity demanded of China and though full success was not reached yet the end was partially attained.

The return of the Dowager Empress and the court to Peking, from which they had fled in headlong panic, was one of the most picturesque pictures of the Boxer uprising. It took place on January 7, 1902, and the like was never before seen in the history of that stupendous empire. The most striking feature of the occasion and one of profound significance was the extinction and absence of all the deification of the royalty that had existed for countless centuries. Neither the Chinese nor the outside world had been permitted to look upon the emperor's face, but on this day every seat that afforded a view was filled, the most favorable being given to foreign diplomats, while here, there, and everywhere were army officers, correspondents, missionaries, and scores of kodak fiends with instruments ready to snap at the most interesting moment.

Interesting as are the accounts of the frightful outbreak in China, it is appropriate for us to study only so much as is necessary to understand the part taken by our own country therein. On the 22d of January the ministers of the foreign Powers were received for the first time as representatives of sovereigns equal in rank to the Emperor

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of China, instead of barbarians, who must prostrate themselves in humble obeisance to one far mightier and greater than they.

The secretary of the International Banking Corporation on January 8, 1902, received from the secretary of state at Washington the official designation as the United States fiscal agent to receive at Shanghai the payment of the Chinese indemnity. This corporation was granted its charter by the Connecticut legislature on the previous June, with provisions of the most liberal character.

The interest of the civilized nations was centered upon the immense ~~northern~~ territory known as Manchuria. Russia, in the face of protests by the Powers and disavowals on her own part, slowly but surely tightened her grasp upon the country. This would have been of no special moment to us, but for the fact that the United States and Great Britain have enormous trade interests with Manchuria, and lately ours have taken precedence of all others. As has been intimated, Japan was more deeply concerned than any other nation, for not only would the acquirement of Manchuria by Russia threaten her trade, but would imperil her very existence.

When the text of Russia's proposed treaty with China became known, it contained nothing specially objectionable, but there was brought to light an agreement between the "Russo-Chinese Bank" and China which secured to Russia exclusive mining, banking, railway and industrial privileges. Great Britain, the United States and Japan vigorously opposed this as a clear violation of the open door policy, to which all the interfering Powers had pledged themselves months before. Germany manifested no interest in the question, for reasons which may be suspected but are not as yet fully known.

You will understand how gravely our interests were threatened by the course of Russia, and naturally our government exerted its influence against the signing of the treaty either by China or Russia. The two nations were warned that our country was firmly resolved to retain all the trade advantages that had been acquired in Manchuria. Two identical notes were sent on February 1, by Secretary Hay, respectively to Russia and China, declaring that any agreement by which China gave any corporation or company the exclusive privilege of opening mines, establishing railway lines, or in any other way industrially developing Manchuria, would be viewed with the gravest concern by the United States; and that such action was a monopoly, which was a distinct breach of the stipulations of the treaties concluded between China and the foreign Powers, and which would seriously affect the rights of American citizens.

This note bore the best kind of fruit. Russia assured the United States in the most positive language that Manchuria would never be closed to the trade, navigation and commerce of the United States. One cannot help suspecting that the announcement of the alliance between Great Britain and Japan, made within two days of the date of Secretary Hay's note, had something to do with this assurance on the part of Russia.

The official reports of the Chinese government for the years 1899 and 1900 showed that the trade of the United States suffered to a greater extent than that of any other country. The United Kingdom had an increase of more than 10 per cent., Russia 25 per cent., the Asiatic countries 40 per cent., while that of the United States decreased about 25 per cent. You will be interested in learning that cotton goods and kerosene are the

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largest imports into China from the United States, and the importance of our trade with that country is shown by the fact that after the decrease named our export of cotton drills was ten times as great as that of the nearest neighbor, that of cotton sheetings being about four times as large as the nearest competitor.

The best informed persons look upon the future of China with misgiving, and many

MUTSU HITO, EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

of those best qualified to judge declare that the Boxer troubles are by no means ended. As has been shown, the wholesale punishment of offenders has only a slight deterrent effect and sometimes no effect at all in China. No reliance can be placed upon the pledges of the Dowager Empress, and the leading Chinese officials. They are truthful when it is to their interest to be so, and when it is to their interest to deceive, they are past masters

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of the art. Despite all the promises of the Chinese government to suppress disorder (and perhaps they made an honest but spasmodic effort to do so) dangerous uprisings took place in the extreme south and soon gained such proportions that Minister Conger demanded of the Chinese government information concerning the outbreak, for it was known that three American missionary families were in the disturbed region. The imperial troops sent to quell the revolt were defeated, and many of them joined the rebels, the main inducement being the prospect of gaining much loot. The simmerings of rebellion were never silent, and the end is not yet.

To show the distrust among the foreign Powers, it may be said that repeated charges have been made that the French encouraged the outbreak in the south, where two of the three provinces border on French territory; but the charge sounds unreasonable, since France had nothing that she could possibly gain by the outbreak, which might have been made profitable to her before the United States took her inflexible stand for the open door in China.

The partition of China among the Powers has been one of the most important questions before the civilized world down to the Boxer outbreak. The general belief was that when that great division took place it would be something like this:

England would obtain Central China, including the fertile and populous valley of the stupendous river Yangtse, which is navigable for more than a thousand miles; Germany would gain the territory of Kiachau on the shore of the Shantung province already seized as her indemnity for the murder of two German missionaries, and would absorb other extensive inland provinces; Russia would have Manchuria, upon which her heart has long been set; while France would appropriate the three immense southern provinces.

But all this has been changed by the entrance of the United States among the Western Powers. Trade interests compel a reckoning with her in such partition, against which, as has been shown, she is unalterably opposed. To these complicated conditions must be added the indubitable fact that there has been organizing for years throughout China a powerful society bent on reforming the hitherto immovable empire by overthrowing the present dynasty, and establishing a government on the model of the United States. This society has millions of adherents, many of them scattered over every part of the civilized world, who contribute money freely, and are only awaiting the right moment to sound the bell of revolution.

It is a striking fact that the real founder of the famous "Hing-Ching Wooy," or Chinese Progressive Society, is a graduate of Harvard College, and was afterward a student of medicine in London. If reports of his doings are true, he and his associates are certain to prove most potent factors in the regeneration of the Celestial Empire, whose most interesting history must await the future to be written.

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CHAPTER VII.

FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY, 1897–1901—CONTINUED—THE GALVESTON CALAMITY.

IT sometimes seems as if the powers of nature, with the purpose of teaching man his utter helplessness, strike blows that terrify the world. More than eighteen centuries ago Herculaneum and Pompeii were buried under the ashes and pumice of Vesuvius. A century and a half ago Lisbon went down into the depths of the sea, and in May, 1902, St. Vincent was destroyed by one of the most awful volcanic outbursts recorded in history.

It is when these visitations come to our own land that we are most profoundly stirred. You have learned of the calamity which Charleston suffered in the summer and early autumn of 1886, when an earthquake toppled a large part of the city in ruins, caused the death of many people and destroyed millions of dollars' worth of property.

The city of Galveston, Texas, ranked among the richest cities in the Union, the *per capita* wealth not being exceeded by more than one or two others. This metropolis of the largest State was so located that it invited the very calamity that finally overwhelmed it. It was another illustration of the fact that thousands live for years at the base of a volcano, and become so accustomed to the ever-impending peril, that they fail even to note the warnings of an approaching outburst and feel no alarm until their doom comes racing down upon them. Galveston stands at the eastern end of a low, flat island thirty miles long and six in width, with hardly a third of that extent at the place where the city is built. If you will note its location on the map, you will see that it is the natural outlet of the enormous and rapidly growing state, whose cotton crop is one-third of that of the whole country. Texas during the War for the Union supplied most of the beeves and cattle for the Southern Confederacy, and its production of lumber, grain, live stock, hides, petroleum and many other commodities has not only reached vast proportions, but is certain to become immensely greater in the near future.

It is remarkable that Galveston, with its many warnings of danger, failed to take proper precautions against the doom which, it may be said, always threatened her. Away back in 1857, when it was only a small town, the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the Bay of Galveston rose to such a height that only the roofs of the houses that were not swept away showed above the surface. But when they subsided, the inhabitants repaired their old homes or built new ones, and went on with their daily work and pursuits as if the inundation was of only trifling importance. Shortly after the close of the civil war, the waters again descended upon the town, but did less devastation than before. Had you been on Mechanic Street, the main business thoroughfare, you would have had to swim or be paddled about in a boat. The storm of that year was a tremendous one, but

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only its skirts touched Galveston. In the summer and autumn of 1871, and three times afterward, with intervals of two years, the city was inundated.

And yet, with these repeated warnings, Galveston calmly went about its business, just as we all do, knowing that sooner or later the hand of death will lay us low. There were many residents in Galveston who declared that one of the certainties of the future was the utter wiping out of the city by water and tempest. Yet they remained, because they had business interests there, and were quite content to take their chances with their neighbors.

The southern coast of the United States was swept by a tropical hurricane on September 6–9, 1901, and its climax of fury struck Galveston a few minutes before two o'clock on the morning of the 9th. It was known twenty-four hours before that a storm of unusual severity was gathering. It tore its way through New Orleans, gathering power as it advanced, so that at noon it was almost a hurricane, and before night it was an unmistakable one.

Now you will note the peculiar conditions which joined to annihilate the city that had dared to defy the elements so long. The pressure of the wind upon the waters of the Gulf was so prodigious and was continued so long that the waves on the north coast were lifted many feet above the usual high-tide level, and for a short time the whole city was submerged. The work of the wind alone would have caused great loss of life and property, but a resistless tidal wave united with the tempest and completed the terrifying work. Born in the depths of the Gulf and full grown at birth, it came rushing forth with a roar of triumph that drowned every other sound. It headed straight for Galveston, over which it rolled like a colossal car of Juggernaut.

Here are some official statistics which tell their own story: The tide at Galveston ordinarily rises from two to two and a half feet, but on Saturday, September 8, it registered a maximum of from twelve and a half to fourteen feet above mean low tide. Since the city is from six to ten feet above mean low tide, some idea of the mass of water which inundated it is given by this tide register. Bear in mind that this shows the height of the water at a level,—that is, if the surface was perfectly calm. But it was pounded into enormous waves, those from the Gulf being piled high in some parts of the city. On top of the raging sea galloped the storm wave, and spurred by the hurricane, formed an avalanche which nothing in the world could resist.

Directly after the Charleston earthquake, it was impossible to obtain a syllable through the telegraph lines stretching from that city, and it was believed by many that the city had been blotted out like Lisbon in 1755. So it was that when the telegraph wires centering at Galveston called in vain for reply, it was feared that the rich, bustling city had passed out of existence as suddenly as if smitten by a bolt from heaven. So, as you remember, it was believed respecting St. Pierre, but such calamities are very rare. Nature leaves a number to take her lesson to heart, though not often do they profit therefrom.

Steamers and incoming vessels, while far out of sight of land, came upon the bodies of men, women and children drifting about with the weeds and *débris*. As they drew nearer, the numbers increased, and there could linger no doubt in

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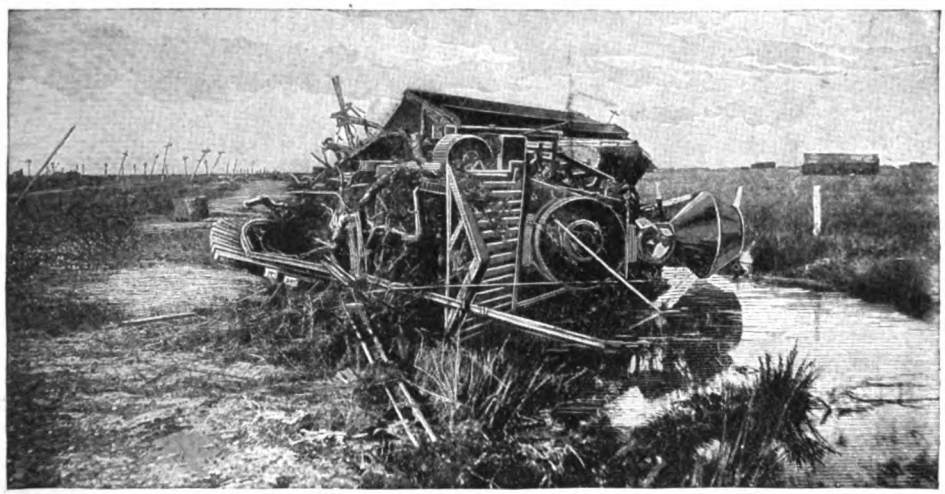

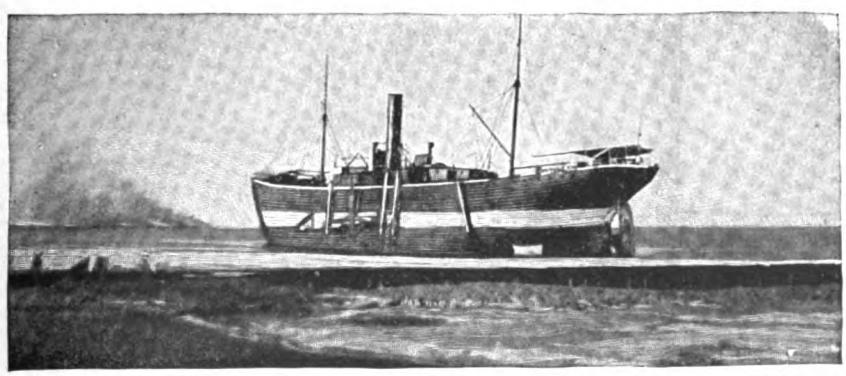

PLATE I. THE GALVESTON DISASTER.—1. Wreckage near the Roman Catholic Cathedral. 2. Wreck of an engine and train at Virginia Point, opposite Galveston. 3. A British steamer carried across Galveston Bay and stranded in three feet of water at Texas City

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the minds of any one that the city had received one of the most fearful visitations in its history.

The stories told by many of the survivors were of the most thrilling character. The storm gauge and the telegraph told of the approach of the storm, which, as I have stated, gathered strength as it advanced. One gentleman who lived in Galveston says that about the middle of the afternoon he saw what was coming, and locking his office passed downstairs and stepped out on the street, where the muddy water reached to his knees. The hurricane drove the drops of rain like hail against his face, and pulling down his hat, drawing his coat collar about his ears and bending his head, he pushed his way toward Tremont Street. This gentleman's account is so graphic that I must quote a portion from *Collier's Weekly:*

"Such a journey! Waist-deep I waded, dodging flying slate, shingles, timber and watching for falling walls. I met a pitiful procession going the other way. Where was safety? No one knew. Women came along supported by husband, brother or father; children were carried in arms.

"Sea alone, or storm alone, would not have caused such destruction. But the winds and waves assisted each other in the pillage and ravage of the city. What the wave spared the storm destroyed. Wind and rain came first. Then from the depths of the Gulf, with a roar audible above the screaming of the wind, came a gigantic wave, such as rolled over Lisbon, and has rolled over many another city of the coast. It came from the east, advancing directly upon the low, flat sea-front of the city. There was naught to stay its progress or even to curb its fury. The sea swept on, towered over the doomed city, fell and devoured it.

"At this moment in the awful tragedy there was no light in the streets, as the lamps had been destroyed—not even a flash of lightning to guide the feet of fugitives; there was no thunder-peal to smother the shrieks of the dying. The drama of the unchained forces of nature was acted to the end in darkness and isolation.

. . . . . .

"Before the storm commenced its devastation, it severed Galveston from the outside world, as if to gain an opportunity for completing its work. Several days elapsed before the rest of the country, or even the people of the adjacent shore, knew anything of the extent of the havoc that had been wrought. So great seemed the calamity at first that it was generally supposed that the entire city, with its thirty-eight thousand inhabitants, had been swept away. It was soon discovered that the disaster was not as terrible and complete as fear had depicted it, but it was stupendous enough to appall the imagination.

"Incoming vessels found bodies floating one hundred miles out in the Gulf, and search-parties discovered the dead, entangled in grass and brushwood, seven miles inland. These distances mark the limits of the amphitheater in which the great tragedy had been enacted.

"The destructive work of the storm was not realized until Sunday. When men ventured out and saw the awful sight, they learned that many buildings had been destroyed. It was supposed that several hundred lives had been lost. The day was

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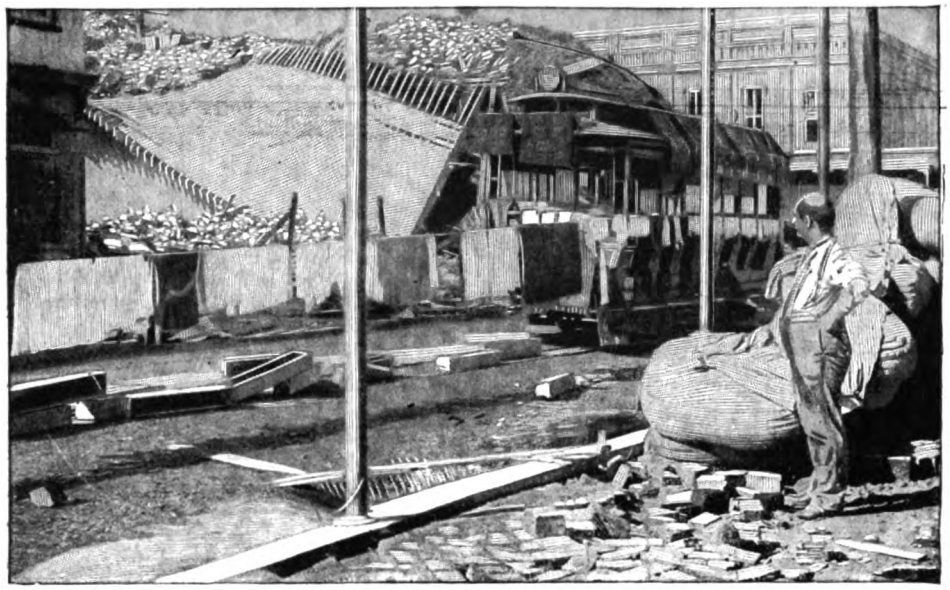

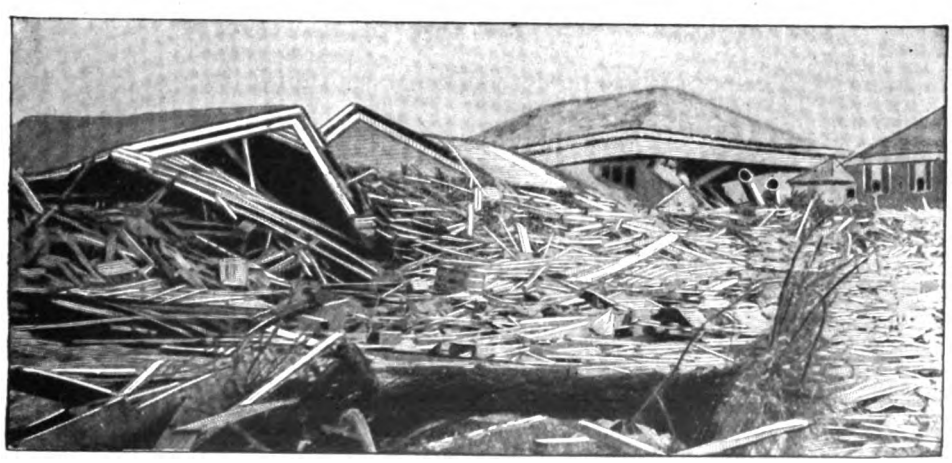

PLATE II. THE GALVESTON DISASTER.—1. The principal business street after the hurricane. 2. Relief workers clearing a street in the residence district. 3. Ruined cottages near the ocean front.

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clear and the sun rose brilliantly. The waters of the sea were still straggling back; but there was little left.

"The city was demoralized, and that day little was accomplished toward the great work which had to be done. Citizens met and organized for relief work, for burying the dead and clearing away the débris, but no very effective work was done till Monday.

"Monday, when it was realized there would be more than a thousand dead, and that the interment of them would be impossible with the volunteers (the best citizens whose families could spare them), it was deemed necessary to coerce the superstitious negroes and unwilling whites, even at the point of the bayonet, to assist in the horrible work.

"The numbers of bodies exhumed and floating in upon the beach and bay, increased also by the thousand or more found in the streets, necessitated the plan of barging the dead out to sea, and this alternative was adopted. All day fire trucks, express wagons and drays that had been drafted into service were engaged in hauling bodies and carcasses to barges in the bay.

"Morgues had been improvised, but soon identification became impossible; the dead were too numerous.

"In appalling numbers the homeless and foodless, bereft of friends and relatives, frenzied with grief and despair, wandered about the city. Martial law was declared and Adjutant-General James Scurry put in charge of the city.

"For three days after the flood food was scarce; most of the grocery stocks were soured or destroyed by water; but there was enough to stave off famine until relief arrived. Distribution warehouses were established in each ward and trustworthy men placed in charge, with a guard of troops from the detachments furnished by other cities of the state. The scene was no place for sightseers, and, at the instigation of the citizens, the railroad companies and the city of Houston established a quarantine for Galveston against the influx of undesirable outsiders. Residents within the lines were allowed passes. Volunteer nurses and doctors were allowed in to the extent of the requirements.

"A remarkable fact should be noted. In an age given over to exaggeration and sensationalism, the press invariably, after the first horror had abated, minimized the disaster. Newspapers that would ordinarily have placed the loss of life at thrice the actual figures, set the loss of Galveston at one or two thousand lives. The death-roll was added to day by day, hour by hour. Its figures crept rapidly up by thousands—3,000, 4,000, 5,000, 6,000 and 7,000. It is now thought that at least 1,000 or 2,000 persons, whose names will never appear on any death-roll, have been lost. They have become as jetsam and flotsam—mere wreckage of the sea.

"To add to the horror of the scene, negroes and whites, of the worst classes, took advantage of the disorder and went from house to house, and from street to street, robbing the dead or injured. It was found necessary to shoot the looters, in order to put a stop to the robbery of bodies. In some cases fingers and ears were cut from the dead or dying to get finger or ear rings that could not readily be pulled from the swollen flesh. The city being under martial law, the militia of the State shot looters without

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mercy. It is thought that more than one hundred robbers of the dead were thus killed. More than fifty were shot in one day. One negro was overtaken by a soldier just after he had robbed an injured woman. A large number of watches, rings and other jewelry was found in his pockets after the soldier shot him. In the pockets of another robber, it was reported, there were found seventy fingers that had been cut from the hands of the dead or injured.

"Some of the incidents of the storm are of the most harrowing nature. The family of Labatt, one of the largest in the state of Texas, and having in the city of Galveston alone the representatives of five generations, is reported to have been completely annihilated, with the exception of one young man. The survivor found the bodies of his father, mother and other relatives, carried them to an open place, and buried them in a shallow grave dug with his own hands.

"Early on Sunday morning, after the night of the storm, Captain Evans found two little girls, unhurt, in the branches of a tree that had been uprooted near his home. One was three and the other five years old. They had been swept from Bolivar Point, five miles distant.

"Scenes of the most terrible description occurred at the Catholic Orphan Asylum, which was wrecked and reduced to an indistinguishable mass of ruins. The heroic Sisters would not try to save themselves without their little charges. The children were gathered together and tied in bunches of eight or ten, and to each of these knots a devoted Sister fastened herself. It is supposed that nuns and orphans met a common death. Two groups have been found under the wreckage; in each case eight children had been bound together and a Sister tied to the group, so that they would not be separated in the storm.

"When the bodies found amid the ruins became so numerous that it was impossible to bury them rapidly, some were burned on great pyres, as in the ancient times they burned the bodies of those who had fallen in battle. Others were taken out to sea and thrown into the water. But the Mexican Gulf again hurled the dead bodies back upon the desolated city. They were then burned on pyres with the other dead. Men sometimes found their dead relatives in the wreck of a house they could not recognize as their former home, and consigned them to the flames. One man did not recognize the bruised body he was carrying, and not until it was illumined by the flames did he recognize the face of his brother.

"With the true pluck of an American community, no sooner did Galveston emerge from wave and tempest than her citizens began to provide for the survivors who were injured or made destitute, and to prepare for the great task of rebuilding their homes and their city. In the first part of the task they were nobly and munificently aided by the entire country. Millions of dollars and trainloads of provisions were sent to the stricken city. New York City sent at least half a million dollars, besides several trainloads of provisions and an army transport loaded with supplies. The condition of the inhabitants was dreadful, as food had been destroyed and all drinking water had been ruined by the sea-wave that had swept over the island. For almost every want of civilized man—food, clothing, water, shelter—the unfortunate people of Galveston had

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to depend upon the rest of the country. The worst of the distress was met as soon as the way was open to the city, and now all actual destitution has been relieved."

No one could shut his eyes to the impressive lessons of this great calamity which attracted the attention of the civilized world. Every one saw the need of applying these lessons, which were set forth too plainly to be slighted. The natural improvements that suggested themselves were the building of additional breakwaters, jetties, dikes and the filling in of a part of the bay between Galveston and the mainland. Within a few years the United States government has spent perhaps $10,000,000 in engineering works to deepen the approaches to Galveston harbor. Formerly the channel was only twenty feet or so deep across the bar, but it is now twenty-seven, and the action of wind and tide between the jetties scours the passage a little deeper every year.

The most careful estimates made the loss of lives at Galveston 7,000, with a property loss of $30,000,000. To the fatalities must be added probably two or three thousand among the isolated villages and along the coast line.

Naturally one is led to compare the destruction of Galveston with that of Pompeii, which contained about 20,000 inhabitants. The people there believed Vesuvius to be extinct, and its sides were cultivated all the way to the summit. Small earthquakes were common, but no more attention was paid to them than on our own Pacific coast, but on the 5th day of February, A. D. 63, a tremendous shock warned the people of what was coming. A large part of the city was tumbled down, but it was repaired before the time of the great catastrophe.

The famous eruption began on the morning of February 24, A. D. 79. Spectators from a distance saw a mighty cloud roll up from the volcano and then spread out like a great umbrella and overhang the city. There was plenty of time for the inhabitants to escape and doubtless many of them did so. The excavations of recent years make it probable that no more than 2,000 persons perished in the city, though no doubt many who tried to escape by sea lost their lives. The hail of pumice began to fall upon Pompeii early on the afternoon of February 24, the pieces averaging the size of a walnut, and the fall was accompanied by a tremendous storm of rain, while continuous shocks of earthquake added to the horrors of the scene. Torrents of water and pumice flowed down Vesuvius on the other side and added Herculaneum to the doomed Pompeii. The total destruction of lives in these two cities was less than one-half of Galveston and was not to be compared with that of St. Pierre in 1902.

Mr. W. J. McGee, formerly the geologist in charge of the coastal plain division of the United States Geological Survey, says that the first lesson of the Galveston calamity is a repetition of the Scriptural warning against building a house on the sand, for the city was founded on a sand-bank, cast up by the waves of average storms during a few centuries. Up to its highest point—less than a dozen feet above low tide—the earth of the island comprised absolutely nothing but wave-cast sand and silt, and to the depth of at least half a mile in vertical measure there is no solid rock; the strata are loose sands and silts and mud-beds, nowhere firm enough to afford a firm foundation. Mr. McGee declares that what is true of Galveston is measurably true of the entire western Gulf coast from Vera Cruz to the Mississippi passes; no worse coast-

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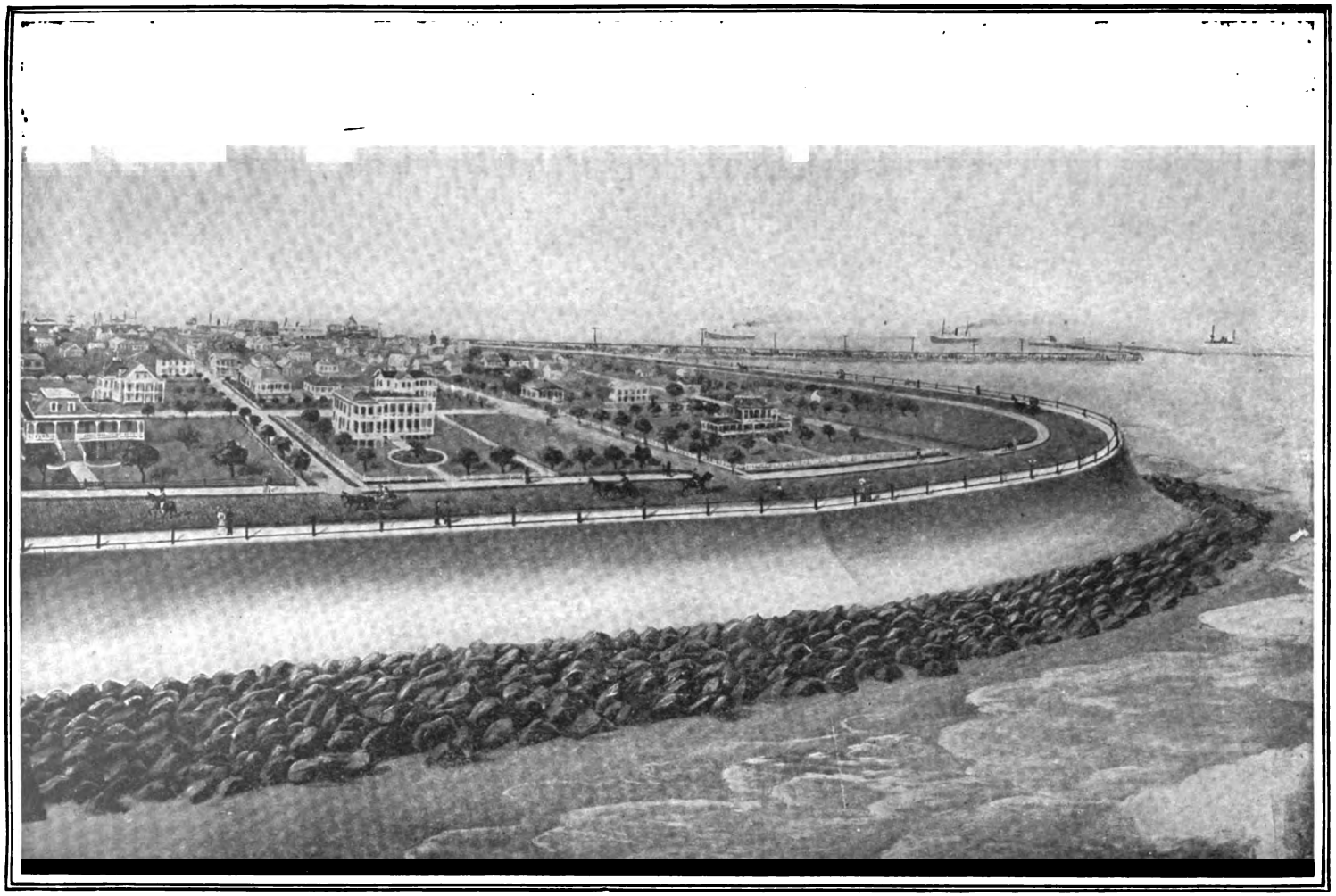

GALVESTON FROM THE SOUTH; AS IT WILL APPEAR WHEN THE GRADE-RAISING IS COMPLETED, WITH A 300-FOOT DRIVEWAY BACK OF THE SEA-WALL.

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stretch for foundation exists in the world and none other so bad is of anything like equal extent.

An important fact overlooked was that the sand-bank on which Galveston was built was a record of past wave-work which ought to have made the founders of the city pause and turn back.

One fact that must be remembered is the sinking of our coasts, which was learned long ago by Holland and Heligoland, and which has been forced upon the attention of Louisiana and Texas, as well as New Jersey. The subsidence of the coast of the latter is believed to be about two feet a century. Landmarks made during the Revolution or a short time before have long been hidden under the sea. Vast amounts have been expended in bulkheads and works to compel the ocean to stay within its former bounds, but the most that these expedients can do is to postpone the inevitable. Nothing is truer than the declaration of the poet of the ocean that man's control "stops with thy shore." Scientists agree that the subsidence on the Gulf coast, at any rate between Mobile Bay and Galveston Harbor, is as rapid as on the New Jersey coast and more rapid than on the Netherland coast. It is interesting to note that while some parts of the earth are sinking others are rising from the ocean. You may travel league after league along the shore of Brazil where the pebbles stretching inland for miles show that only lately has the ground emerged from its ocean bed. So the surface of the earth is continually undergoing changes, and a thousand or less years from now a map of almost any continent will appear far different from what it does to-day.

The warning of Mr. McGee is striking:

"Let it not be forgotten that of all localities on the Gulf coast Galveston is most exposed; it is the last of the great natural embankments of the west coast remaining unsubmerged, and hence is open to a wider range of gales than any other; it is the point of contact between opposing forces, the land subsidence on the one hand and wave-building on the other hand, just as was the Sabine Bank in its day—but, like that bank, it is bound to be overwhelmed by one of the few great forces of nature to which human ingenuity and strength must bow."

You will admit that much stronger language could not well be used, and the answer to the warning is the rebuilding of Galveston on the old site. True, a great deal of money and skill has been used to strengthen the foundations, but who shall undertake to say what the future will bring forth for that city which has already suffered so much?

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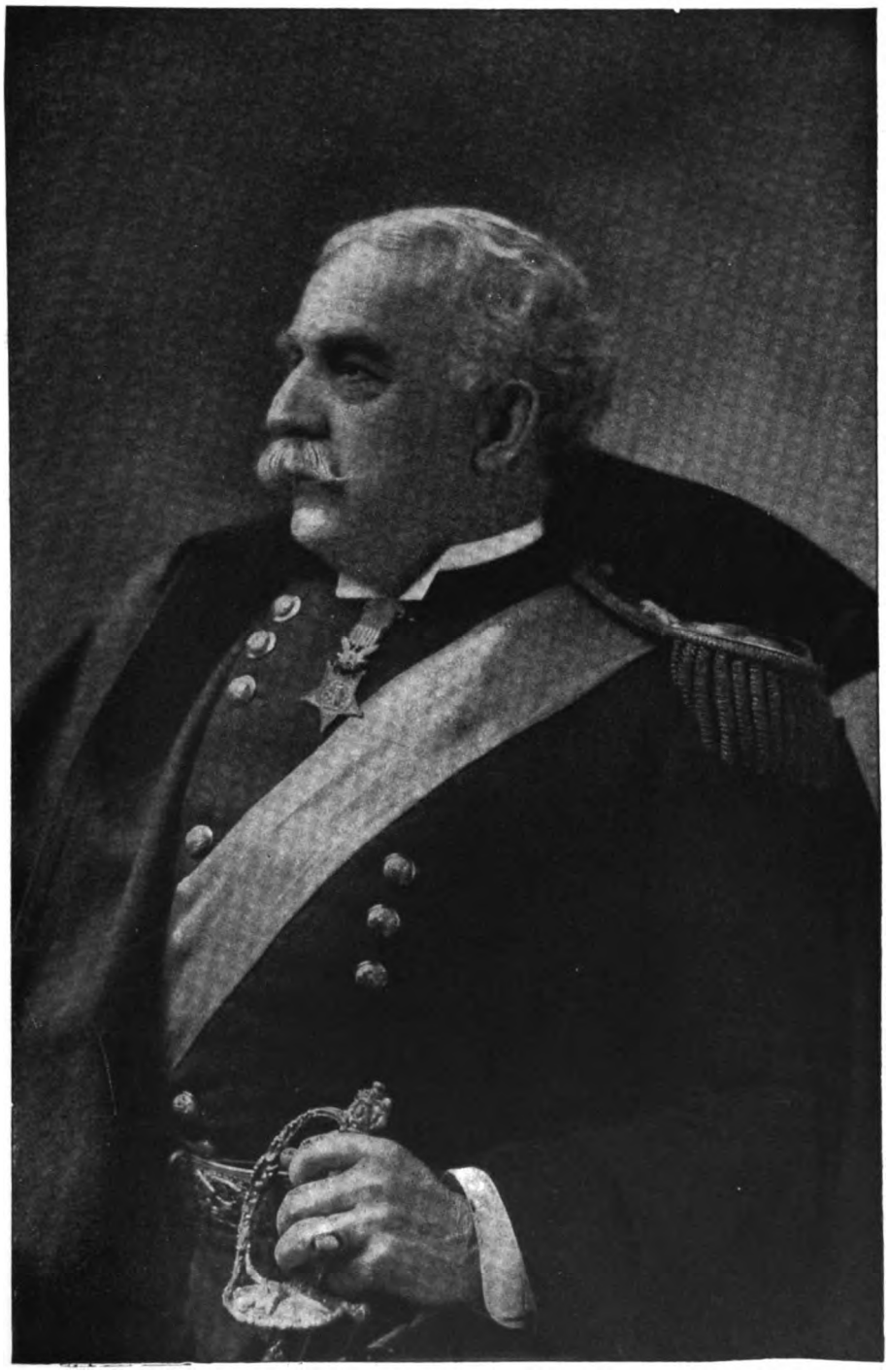

MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.

Commanding the Army.

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CHAPTER VIII.

FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY, 1897–1901—CONTINUED—PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1900.

WHEN the Southern Confederacy was organized in 1861, a provision was inserted in its Constitution which many believe was eminently wise: this was to the effect that the President should be elected for a term of six years and should not be eligible to succeed himself. The prudence of this law lay in the fact that the chief magistrate was shut off from laying any plans for a second term, and perforce had nothing to engage his abilities and energies but the welfare of his country. Naturally he would do all that lay in his power to win a name as one of the foremost patriots, statesmen and rulers. It has been advocated in more than one quarter that a similar amendment should be made to the Federal Constitution.

As in all great questions that come before our country, there is much to be said in favor of and against the plan. We have already named the strongest argument in support of the change. There is no office in the world more exalted than that of the Chief Magistrate of the eighty-odd millions of people who make up the United States of America; and it would be reversing the law of human nature for a President chosen by the suffrages of such a mighty people to feel no desire or longing for a second term. It is inevitable that, no matter how pure and patriotic his course, he should weigh it more or less with an eye to his own succession. The question whether a certain policy would affect his chances for renomination cannot fail to have an influence more or less upon his conduct while in office. The leaders of the political party to whom he is indebted for success must have great weight with him, and too often the action of the Executive is based on the probable results it will have in the ensuing presidential struggle. The "good of the party" must sometimes rise above the good of the country.

Opposed to this view of the question is the assertion that if it so happens that a President does not measure up to the high requirements of his office, six years is too long to wait for a chance to supplant him with a better man. The same argument will apply in a smaller degree to the term of four years, and it should be remembered that a President is always limited and restrained to certain bounds which must prevent his working any disaster or serious ill to the whole country.

Down to the opening of the twentieth century there have been twenty-five occupants of the presidential chair. The list does not include a single man who was not patriotic, able and devoted to the interests of the country. They have widely differed in ability, and in some instances their policy was severely criticised, but never was the welfare of the nation seriously threatened. It is impossible in the nature of things that such should be the case. The risk, therefore, of a President ruling for six instead of four years can never be alarming. The United States is too mighty and too powerful a nation for its safety to be threatened by a single man.

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Every four years we are rocked by a political earthquake. The excitement of election disturbs business, rouses resentment and creates dissatisfaction. Until of late years the success of one political organization meant the wholesale turning out of men from office, and a still greater turmoil in business interests. True, this evil has been greatly lessened by civil service reform, which is intended to keep a person in office so long as he proves himself worthy and capable, but it is impossible to prevent a certain degree of injurious upsetting of the established order of things.

Every one who expects to become an American citizen should make it his duty to study with all the intelligence at his command the politics of the most favored land on which the sun ever shone. To us is entrusted the safety of the Republic, and as patriots we must do our utmost to meet those duties conscientiously and rightly. The opinions of men will differ, and it is better that it should be so. Religion is more vigorous and successful because of the diversity of sects than it could be without them. The average patriotism of the American people can be depended upon to be right, and the discussion that follows differing views is sure to bring the truth to light.

The impressive benefit of a republican form of government is that no wholly incompetent man can ever obtain the reins of power. To become President, he must receive the suffrages of the majority of his fellow-citizens; and they are too numerous to make any serious mistake possible. Examine the lists of sovereigns of the countries across the ocean, and you will find that many have been incapable and utterly unfitted to preside over the destinies of a people. Worse than that, the list includes the most degraded of men and women,—murderers, wantons, lunatics,—who brought war, woe and desolation upon their subjects, without the slightest thought or care for the crimes they were committing.

No good citizen can hold aloof from politics. He must dismiss prejudice from his mind and do all that in him lies for the advancement of public virtue, good policy and the best interests of the nation. There are sections and communities where corruption and degradation prevail and where men are chosen to office whose proper place is in the penitentiary. In such sections and communities we too often hear the better citizens declare that their self-respect will not permit them to have anything to do with politics, and they not only refuse to attend primary meetings, but refrain from voting. You need not be reminded that the self-evident consequence of such a course is to encourage evil-doers and prevent the political purifications which it is every one's duty to strive to bring about. No one making any claim to patriotism and virtue can shelter himself behind such a refuge as this.

The conclusion, therefore, is that it is the duty of every one to help in selecting the right rulers and to aid the cause of virtuous rule—a duty which we cannot escape without committing sin.

The establishment of the civil service rules in late years has greatly lessened the quadrennial convulsion which formerly shook the foundations of government. As we have learned, Washington, the first President, was chosen unanimously, and it may be doubted whether throughout the whole country there was a single man who seriously thought of any other choice. Under heaven he had piloted the brave and impover-

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ished colonies into the haven of nationality, and it was impossible to believe that any one was as competent as he to preside over the infancy and young manhood of the nation. But the great and good Washington was abused in some quarters as shamefully as have been most of his successors, and the crystallization of political parties began while he was President.

As we know, the nation has often been wrought to the highest pitch of excitement by momentous questions of public policy. The wars in which we have been engaged have caused intense partisanship, and in all there has been a determined minority, who it would be unfair to say were less conscientious than the majority. Had not the War of 1812 come to an end when it did, it is probable that the New England States would have forcibly interfered. The contest with Mexico, which broke out in 1846, was really a strife between the friends and enemies of slavery, in which the former won, while the stupendous struggle of 1861–1865 split the nation into two sections which fought each other with a valor and desperation that have never been surpassed.

Other questions than those named have at times distracted the country. One of these has baffled our statesmen from the beginning: that is the tariff. Ought this country to admit the products of all other countries free,—that is to say, without paying any duty on such products? To do so would be *free trade*, for which some of the ablest men have contended and still contend,—on the principle that every one should be allowed to buy and sell goods where he can do so to his advantage. Thus, if a certain kind of cloth can be made in England and sold in this country at ten cents a yard, it should be every one's privilege to buy it at that price, instead of paying an additional five cents per yard in the way of a tax to the government.

This sounds reasonable, but our manufacturers instantly reply that the workmen in other countries are paid such poor wages that ours cannot compete with them. The only way by which the goods in question can be sold as cheaply here as abroad is for the factories to cut down the pay of their workmen to the same point as that of foreign laborers. They insist that to give employees living wages a tax must be imposed upon foreign goods, so great that it will permit the American manufacturer to sell them at a fair profit.

A half-century ago there were comparatively no manufactories in the South. The tariff enabled the Northern manufacturers to fix a higher price on their products, which therefore cost the Southerners much more than would have been the case under free trade. This tariff was continually increased in the North and every such increase added to the burden of the South, until hot-headed South Carolina lost all patience and declared that she would go to war before consenting to pay the oppressive duties. The firmness of President Jackson and a gradual reduction of the tariff soothed the trouble for the time, and since so many manufactories have been established in the South, it is not probable that any similar revolt will again occur, though the many diverse interests must always give rise to wrangling in Congress.

Numerous other causes bring about political changes, and often they are not wholly reasonable. No human wisdom is able to prevent the occasional recurrence of "hard times" in the best-governed countries, but woe to the administration under which they

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come! That of President Van Buren suffered the penalties of the stubborn policy of President Jackson, and the nation was swept by a disastrous depression in 1837. The wisest man that ever lived could not have been elected in 1840 on the Democratic ticket, and the Whig candidate, Gen. W. H. Harrison, was carried into the White House by a stupendous majority. Had Cleveland been defeated in 1892, no doubt the successful candidate in 1896 would have been Democratic, for the hard times that followed sounded the death knell for the time of the administration then in power. Since it was Democratic, the successor was Republican, and had the conditions been reversed the results also would have been reversed.

The two most absorbing questions of the last few years have been those of colonial expansion and of trusts. The one problem that seems beyond the power of man to solve is the equitable distribution of capital and the adjustment of labor problems so as to "abolish poverty." It has been said that if the wealth in the country were divided equally among the people, so that all stood on precisely the same basis, ten years would be sufficient to bring back things exactly as they were before. The variety of ability is infinite and must always remain so, and he who has the greatest share is certain to climb to the top. The question arises as to what extent capital should be allowed to combine. When it reaches the point of injuring the public, it would seem the strong hand of the law should be interposed. At this writing, beef and other articles of food are abnormally high, and legal steps have been taken to protect the community at large. It is claimed that the establishment of trusts reduces the number of producers and raises the cost of the necessities of life. What, then, should be the extent of the law's interference?

You know that, until the conclusion of the war with Spain, the policy of our government had been to keep to itself. America was deemed extensive enough to permit us to grow and expand for centuries to come. But the wail of suffering humanity led us to interfere with the tyranny of Spain in Cuba, and at the close of the war we had the distant Philippines on our hands. Our policy was to secure good government for those islands and then turn them over to the natives. The natives resented the attempt, which they considered to be aimed at wresting away the government for ourselves. They resisted, and there has been fighting ever since, sometimes of the most vicious character. There are those who maintain that the Filipinos are fighting a war of independence as much as did our ancestors in the Revolution. They insist that we should withdraw and leave them to themselves. On the other hand, it has been shown that the Boxer uprising assisted to place us in the rank of the great Powers, and that we are fully committed to the policy of expansion. All these questions entered largely into the political struggle of 1900.

The Democratic National Convention met at Kansas City, Mo., and on the 5th of July, 1900, nominated by acclamation William J. Bryan for President. There had been considerable opposition to his nomination before the meeting of the convention, and several others' names were discussed, but none of them gained a formidable following. Mr. Bryan was regarded as the logical candidate, and he refused to agree that the money question was a dead issue. The platform adopted on the date named declared "Imperialism" the paramount issue; that all governments instituted among men derive their

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just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon such consent is a tyranny; and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic. It was held that the Constitution follows the flag; the doctrine that an Executive or Congress can exercise lawful authority beyond the Constitution was denounced, and the American people were warned that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

The Porto Rico law was said to be a bold and open violation of the nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith, and was declared the

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

first act of the imperialistic programme, inconsistent with republican institutions and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

Since profound peace reigned in Cuba its evacuation was demanded in accordance with pledges made long before. The Philippine policy was denounced in equally strong language. "It has involved the Republic in unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of our noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to

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achieve liberty and self-government." The platform favored an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos first a stable government; second, independence; and third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America.

Declaration was made in favor of what was termed "qualified expansion," by which was meant the taking in of desirable territory which can be erected into states in the Union and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. Expansion was favored by every peaceful and legitimate means, but unalterable opposition was proclaimed against the seizing or purchasing of distant islands, to be governed outside the Constitution, and whose people can never become citizens. The influence of the Republic among the nations should be extended not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of high and honorable example.

The strict maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine was insisted upon, and in all its integrity, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this continent and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs.

Militarism was opposed and declared to mean conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home, the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions, to which millions of our citizens have fled from Europe. It would impose upon our citizens a large standing army and an unnecessary burden of taxation, and would be a constant menace to our liberties.

Private monopolies were attacked and they were declared to be indefensible and intolerable. "They destroy competition, control the price of all material and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof, and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity for betterment. They are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the Republic destroyed."

The slogan was sounded against the trusts. A call was made for the enforcement of existing laws against them and the enactment of more stringent ones, providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and requiring all corporations to show before doing business outside the state of their origin that their stock is not watered, and that they have not attempted and are not attempting to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise. The exercise of the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails and all modes of interstate communication was demanded for the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts. Furthermore, it was demanded that the tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list in order to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection. It was conceded that corporations should be protected in all their rights, but the attempt on their part to interfere with public affairs of the people, or to control the sovereignty that creates them, should be rendered impossible.

The Dingley Tariff Law was condemned as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully

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devised to favor an undeserving few, and to place unjust burdens on the many. Such an enlargement of the Interstate Commerce Law was advocated as would enable the commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public from unfair transportation rates.

Every possible inducement was brought to bear upon Mr. Bryan to modify his views of the financial question as set forth in the Chicago platform of 1896, of which you have learned elsewhere. More than one leading man of his party insisted that if he would so modify his position the party would certainly win, while, if he refused, there was not a possibility of success. He turned a deaf ear to all remonstrances and arguments, and the platform reaffirmed and indorsed the principles of 1896, and reiterated the demand for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and, as part of such system, the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the then prevailing rate of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of any other nation, was demanded.

The Currency Bill enacted at the previous session of Congress by the Republican majority was condemned as a step forward in the policy of that party which aimed to discredit the sovereign right of the national government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. It was asserted that a permanent national bank currency, secured by government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and if the bank currency is to increase with the population and business the debt must also increase.

The platform favored an amendment to the Federal legislation providing for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people; opposed government by injunction; favored arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees; recommended to Congress the creation of a department of labor in charge of a secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet; advocated liberal pensions, as was done in the platform of 1896; urged the immediate construction, ownership and control of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States; condemned the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests, not to be tolerated by the American people; promised immediate statehood to the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma, and favored home rule and a territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

The other minor planks in the platform may be summed up as follows: A system of irrigation for the arid lands of the west; the strict enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Law and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races; no alliance with other Powers; sympathy for the Boers struggling for their independence in South Africa; the repeal of war taxes, and, finally, an appeal for the support of all liberty-loving people on the ground that our most cherished institutions were in peril and the very existence of our constitutional Republic was at stake.

Such is a summary of the principles enunciated by the Democratic National Convention of 1900, of which William Jennings Bryan was again the standard bearer. One ballot for vice-president was cast, the choice falling upon Adlai E. Stevenson.

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Let us now give our attention to the work of the Republican National Convention, which had already met in Philadelphia on June 25. The choice of a standard bearer was, if anything, more inevitable than at Kansas City. William McKinley's first term was drawing to a close and his administration had been highly satisfactory to his own party. The country was prosperous; his conciliatory course had averted any split among his supporters and there was no reason why he should not be again selected to lead them. Equally certain would have been the selection for the second place on the ticket had the brilliant Garret A. Hobart lived, but he had been carried off by disease. Of the 930 votes every one went for McKinley and all except one, his own, to Theodore Roosevelt, of New York. You have learned the points of the Democratic platform and we shall now see how they were met by the Republicans.

The platform, which was adopted June 20, opened with the declaration that the expectation of the American people at the hands of a Republican Chief Magistrate had been met and satisfied. It was said that when the people assembled at the polls four years before business was dead, industry paralyzed, the national credit disastrously impaired, the country's capital hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The only Democratic plan was to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, which was denounced by the Republican party as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, while the Republicans promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value. It was claimed that this promise had been abundantly fulfilled, as was set forth by statistics.

Referring to the war with Spain, it was claimed that a victory had been concluded for liberty and human rights, and no thought of national aggrandizement had tarnished the high purposes with which American standards were unfurled. "To ten millions of the human race was given 'a new birth of freedom' and to the American people a new and noble responsibility."

The Republican administration was indorsed in the following words: "Its acts have been established in wisdom and patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen."

After a sharp arraignment of the Democratic party, the principles of the Republican platform were set forth.

Respecting the gold standard, allegiance to the same was renewed. Interest rates were declared to be potent factors in production and business activity, and further to equalize and lower the rates of interest such monetary legislation was favored as would enable the varying needs of the seasons and of all sections to be met promptly in order that trade might be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed and commerce enlarged.

Steadfast opposition was expressed against the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and no measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation

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might seem to have secured the country against the peril of a base and discredited currency, our credit would be impaired by the success of a party committed to such a policy of debasement of coinage.

The following language was used regarding Trusts: "We recognize the necessity and propriety of honest coöperation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producers, laborers and all who are engaged in industry and commerce."

Strong language was employed in favor of protection, in which policy, it was claimed, our industries had been established, diversified and maintained, and, by protecting the home market, competition had been stimulated and production cheapened. It was said that wages in every department of labor had been maintained at high rates, higher then than before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country.

Declaration was made in favor of the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets. A more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor and an effective system of labor insurance were advocated.

Attention was called to the fact that nine-tenths of our foreign carrying trade is done by the shipping of other nations. This would be a grave trouble in the event of foreign war, and legislation was called for that would enable us to recover our former place among the trade-carrying fleets of the world.

The Republicans and Democrats were in accord in favoring liberal pensions to the soldiers and sailors who fought the battles of our country, and in making provision for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in such wars. The Republican platform declared that preference should be given wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

The civil service policy was commended and the administration was declared to have acted wisely in its effort to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness had been determined by training and experience.

The platform condemned as revolutionary the devices of some of the State governments in the South to avoid the purposes of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color; favored public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country, and recommended the subject to the earnest consideration of the people and the legislatures of the various States; favored the extension of the rural free-delivery service; the reclamation of arid lands by irrigation; the early admission to statehood of the terri-

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tories of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma; the reduction of the war taxes, the Dingley tariff having lowered the war debt in the sum of $40,000,000; the construction, ownership, control and protection of an Isthmian canal by the United States government; the making of every effort to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient. The administration was warmly commended for its successful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

Congress was recommended to create a department of commerce and industries for our expanding commerce, the same to be in charge of a secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet. The reorganization of the consular system was urged upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as would render it more serviceable to the nation's increasing trade. It was declared that the American government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are violated or placed in peril, and a word of praise was given to the women army nurses, which was certainly deserved.

Warm commendation was expressed of President McKinley's conduct of the foreign affairs of the country, especially in releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Pacific every American interest had been safeguarded. Naturally the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States was commended.

DELIVERY AND COLLECTION BOXES AT CROSS-ROADS.

On the delicate question of the South African war our steadfast adherence was declared to the Monroe Doctrine, and it was a wise deference to the provisions of the Hague convention when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republics. "While the American government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President, and imposed upon us by the Hague Treaty, of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them."

On the important question of the policy toward the Philippines, these words were used:

"In accepting by the treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish war, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the Ameri-

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can people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the Western Indies and in the Philippine Islands.

"That course created our responsibility before the world, and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government, and for the performance of international obligations.

"Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples.

"The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law."

The same voice which declared war with Spain granted independence to Cuba and it was pledged that the boon should be secured to her.

The principles of the two leading political parties of the country in the presidential contest of 1900 have been laid before you. The real contest was to be between Democrats and Republicans, and it was noteworthy that each had the same leader as four years before. But there never can be anything like unanimity among the people themselves. A certain number are sure to be dissatisfied with the policy of each of the great parties and not only refuse to vote with either, but nominate candidates of their own. It matters nothing to them that there is not even a remote chance of success, nor do they often deceive themselves with any such hope. The ground they take is that they are voting for their principles and no one has the right to question their course, for it is the duty of us all to obey the prompting of conscience. A practical argument in favor of their course is that their conduct compels a deference to their views by the leading political organizations. It has happened more than once that when they have been ignored they have mustered enough votes to defeat the very party thus ignoring them. With no little reason, therefore, the dissatisfied insist that by nominating their own candidates, when those of the leading parties are unsatisfactory, they often secure at least a partial acceptance and adoption of their principles.

No more significant proof of the broad and varying sentiments of the American people can be given than by the platforms of the different parties which asked the votes of their fellow citizens. The strongest organization outside of the two leading ones was the Prohibition Party, which held its convention at Chicago, June 27 and 28, and placed in nomination John G. Woolley, of Illinois, and Henry B. Metcalf, of Ohio.

No one can gainsay that the curse of strong drink is one of the most destructive foes of mankind. The Prohibitionists naturally made this question the greatest issue of the campaign, using the following language:

"We declare that there is no principle now advocated by any other party which could be made a fact in government with such beneficent, moral and material results as the principle of prohibition applied to the beverage liquor traffic; that the national interest could be promoted in no other way so surely and so widely as by its adoption and assertion through a national policy and a coöperation therein by every State, for-

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bidding the manufacture, sale, exportation, importation and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes; that we stand for this as the only principle proposed by any party anywhere for the settlement of a question greater and graver than any other before the American people, and involving more profoundly than any other their moral future and financial welfare; and that all the patriotic citizenship of this country agreed upon this principle, however much disagreement there may be as to minor considerations and issues, should stand together at the ballot-box from this time forward until prohibition is the established policy of the United States, with a party in power to enforce it and to insure its moral and material benefits.

"We insist that such a party agreed upon this principle and policy, having sober leadership, without any obligation for success to the saloon vote and to those demoralizing political combinations, can successfully cope with all other and lesser problems of government, in legislative halls and in the executive chair, and that it is useless for any party to make declarations in its platform as to any questions concerning which there may be serious differences of opinion in its own membership, and because of such differences the party could legislate only on a basis of mutual concessions when coming into power."

The Democratic and Republican parties were declared to be insincere in their assumed hostility to trusts and monopolies, and afraid to attack the most dangerous of them all, the liquor power. The Prohibitionists asserted that as a first step in the financial problem of the nation they purposed to save more than a billion dollars annually, which was expended in the support of the liquor traffic, after which it would be time enough to address themselves to the other questions that the parties made prominent. A striking statement was the quotation from William Windom, Secretary of the Treasury under President Arthur: "Considered socially, financially, politically or morally, the licensed liquor traffic is or ought to be the overwhelming issue of American politics, and the destruction of this iniquity stands next on the calendar of the world's progress."

President McKinley was denounced for wine-drinking, as were the liquor traffic in the Philippines, the attorney-general for his interpretation of the law regarding the army canteen, and the administration for repealing the prohibitory law in Alaska, and a final appeal was made to Christian voters, accompanied by the declaration that there were but two real parties to-day concerning the liquor traffic—Perpetuationists and Prohibitionists.

The next party in strength was the Social Democratic, which convened as early as March 7 and placed in nomination Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, and Job Harriman, of California. These people, although comparatively few in numbers, are active, aggressive and determined, and it would be unwise to give them no attention, for they are liable to make their power felt at the most unexpected times. It cannot be denied that there is widespread discontent among the laborers and the impoverished, who are ready to welcome any policy that promises relief, even though the means may be revolutionary. Mr. Debs, the standard bearer, had undergone imprisonment for his course during the formidable strikes already referred to, and many looked upon him as a martyr to their most cherished principles.

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The Social Democrats declared that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights; that in our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. "The individual tool was owned by the worker, who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist, and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor."

After a severe arraignment of capital the Social Democratic Party declared its object to be:

"First—The organization of the working classes into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

"Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of coöperative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism."

As steps in this direction it was demanded that the Federal Constitution should be so amended as to permit universal suffrage, including both sexes; the public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines; the public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones, all means of transportation and communication, all water works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities; the public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and other mines, and all oil and gas wells; the reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production; the inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose; useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public; labor legislation to be national instead of local, and international when possible; national insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age; equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women; the adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by voters; abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

The next party in order of strength was the People's Party, known also as the Middle of the Road, which met at Cincinnati on the 10th of May and placed in nomination Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania, and Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota. Their platform was brief, consisting of the following demands:

The initiative and referendum and such changes of laws as would make the people supreme and enable them to recall unfaithful representatives; the public ownership and operation of those means of communication, transportation and production which the people may elect, such as railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, coal mines, etc.; all lands held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands owned by aliens, to be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers

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only; a scientific and absolute paper money, based upon the entire wealth and population of the nation, not redeemable in any specific commodity, but made a full legal tender for all debts, and receivable for all taxes and public dues, and issued by the government only without the intervention of banks, and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of commerce; until such financial system is secured there should be free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the legal ratio of 16 to 1; a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances; the direct vote of the people for the election of President, Vice-President, Federal Judges and United States Senators; opposition to trusts, the contention between the old parties on this question being declared a sham battle.

Next we have the Socialist Labor Party, which assembled in convention at New York City, June 2-8, and nominated Joseph F. Maloney, of Massachusetts, and Valentine Remmel, of Pennsylvania. After a declaration of views on the questions of the day a call was made upon the wage workers of the United States and all other honest citizens to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers, so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, a summary end may be put to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Coöperative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, "multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization."

The People's Party or Fusionists assembled its representatives at Sioux Falls, S. D., May 10, and nominated Seth H. Ellis, of Ohio, and Samuel T. Nichols, of Pennsylvania. The platform condemned the currency bill on the ground that it made all money obligations, domestic and foreign, payable in gold coin or its equivalent, thus enormously increasing the burdens of the debtors and enriching the creditors; for refunding "coin bonds" not to mature for years into long-time gold bonds so as to make their payment improbable and the public debt perpetual; for taking from the treasury over $50,000,000 in a time of war and presenting it as a premium to bondholders to accomplish the refunding of bonds not due; for doubling the capital of bankers by returning to them the face value of their bonds in current money notes, so that "they may draw one interest from the government and another from the people;" for allowing banks to expand and contract their circulation at pleasure; for authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue new gold bonds to an unlimited amount whenever he deems it necessary to replenish the gold hoard; for striking down the greenback in order to force the people to borrow $346,000,000 more from the banks at an annual cost of $20,000,000.

Among the demands made were: The free coinage of silver at 16 to 1; a graduated income and inheritance tax; the establishment of postal savings banks; homesteads for the people, and the government ownership of railroads.

Trusts were declared to be the overshadowing evil of the age and the result of and

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culmination of the private ownership and control of the three great instruments of commerce—money, transportation and the means of the transmission of information—which instruments of commerce were said to be public functions, which our forefathers declared in the Constitution should be controlled by the people through their Congress for the public welfare. The one remedy for the trusts was declared to be their ownership and control by the people. It was demanded that all tariffs on goods controlled by a trust should be abolished, and that in order to cope with the evil the people must act directly, without the intervention of representatives, who may be controlled or influenced. Direct legislation was demanded, thus giving the people the lawmaking and veto power under the initiative and referendum, on the basic principle that the majority of the people never can be corruptly influenced.

Declaration was made in favor of the independence of the Filipinos; the levying of special and extraordinary customs duties on the commerce of Porto Rico was condemned as a violation of the Constitution, as was what was termed militarism. Sympathy was expressed for the Boers, and the importation of Japanese and other laborers under contract to serve monopolistic corporations was pronounced a flagrant violation of the immigrant laws. The practice of issuing injunctions in disputes between employers and employes was declared to be a wrong that should be corrected by legislation. As in the case of several other minor parties, a demand was made for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people and condemnation was made of the disfranchisement of the negro in some of the Southern States. The platform declared in favor of home rule in the Territories and the District of Columbia, and the early admission of the Territories as States, while the pension office was censured for its red-tape system, political favoritism, unnecessary delay and evasion of the statutes.

The party which marshalled the smallest number of votes was the United Christian, which assembled in national convention at Rock Island, Illinois, May 2, 1900, and placed in nomination J. F. R. Leonard, of Iowa, and John G. Woolley, of Illinois, the latter of whom, you will remember, headed the Prohibition ticket. The organization declared against the desecration of the Sabbath; unscriptural marriage and divorce; the licensing of the manufacture and the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage; immoral laws; the liquor traffic; the sale of cigarettes and tobacco to minors, and against war.

Demand was made for the adoption and use of the system of legislation known as the "initiative and referendum;" the immediate abolition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage; the daily reading of the Bible in the public schools and institutions of learning under control of the State; the government ownership of public utilities, and a direct vote in the election of the President and Vice-President and United States Senators.

The foregoing statement presents some idea of the wide diversity of sentiment among the American people, but it must be added that on July 6 the Silver Republican Party, as it called itself, issued a declaration of principles which may be summarized as follows: Adherence to the principle of bimetallism; favoring a repeal of the currency law and a graduated tax upon incomes; the election of United States Senators by the

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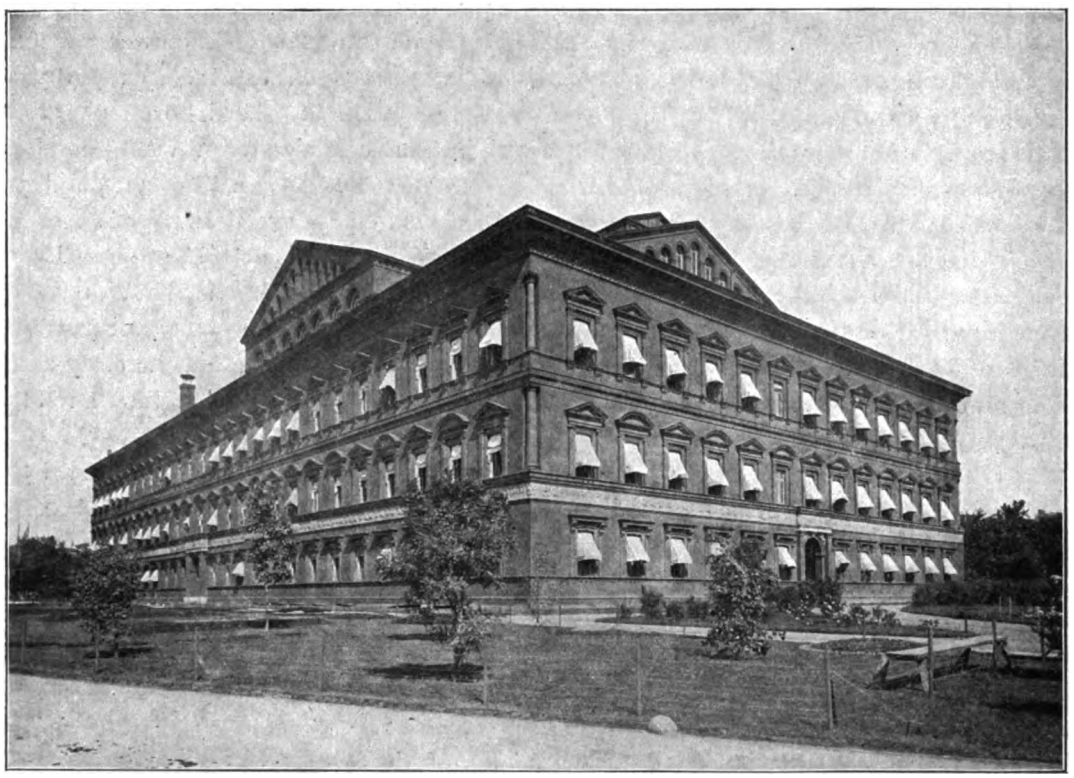
people; the maintenance and extension of civil service reforms; condemnation of trusts and monopolies; sustaining the Monroe doctrine; disapproving the extensive ownership of American lands by aliens; favoring liberal pensions to deserving soldiers, their widows, orphans and other dependents, and condemning the present pension laws; expressing sympathy for the Boers in South Africa; calling for the abandonment of the Philippines, the repeal of war taxes, the admission of the Territories as States, the fulfilling of our pledges to Cuba and the irrigation of the arid Western lands; condemning unreasonable railroad charges and unjust discriminations; favoring the public ownership of public utilities; the expansion of commerce, and the exclusion of Asiatic laborers.

A comparison of this platform with that of the Democratic party will show that it



PENSION BUREAU, WASHINGTON, D. C.

was quite natural for its supporters to indorse the candidates of the former. This was done, so that Bryan and Stevenson were the leaders on both tickets.

The National Party (Third Ticket) was organized at New York City, September 5, 1900, and nominated Donelson Caffery and Archibald M. Howe, but since both withdrew it is not necessary to elucidate their principles.

The National Democratic Party (Gold Democracy) through its committee at Indianapolis, July 25, declared inexpedient the nomination of candidates and none was made. The committee reaffirmed the Indianapolis platform of 1896 and recommended

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HON. LYMAN G. GAGE. HON J. W. GRIGGS. HON. JOHN D. LONG. HON. JAMES WILSON. HON. E. A. HITCHCOCK.
PRESIDENT MCKINLEY HON. JOHN HAY. HON. ELIHU ROOT. HON. C. EMORY SMITH.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AND HIS CABINET.

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the State committees in their respective States to preserve their organizations and take such steps as in their opinion would best subserve the principles of the party, especially in the maintenance of a sound currency, the right of private contract, the independence of the judiciary, and the authority of the President to enforce Federal laws, a covert attack on which was made under the guise of the denunciation of government by injunction.

The committee further urged the voters not to be deceived by the plea that the money question had been finally settled. The specific reiteration of the demand for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 by the Kansas City Convention and the history known of all men in connection therewith emphasized the danger of this demand. The action of Congress in passing a bill embodying the gold standard was indorsed as a step in the right direction, and it was pronounced dangerous to elevate to executive power any one hostile to the maintenance and enforcement of that law.

Finally, an Anti-Imperialist Convention was held in Indianapolis, August 16, and a platform adopted without the naming of any candidates. It was termed a Liberty Congress of anti-imperialists, whose language could admit of no misconstruction. It declared that the Republic was menaced and said: "For the first time in our country's history the President has undertaken to subjugate a foreign people and to rule them by despotic power. He has thrown the protection of the flag over slavery and polygamy in the Sulu Islands. He has arrogated to himself the power to impose upon the inhabitants of the Philippines government without their consent and taxation without representation. He is waging war upon them for asserting the very principles for the maintenance of which our forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. He claims for himself and Congress authority to govern the Territories of the United States without constitutional restraint."

The convention made the following recommendations to their countrymen:

"First—That, without regard to their views on minor questions of domestic policy, they withhold their votes from Mr. McKinley, in order to stamp with their disapproval what he has done.

"Second—That they vote for those candidates for Congress in their respective districts who will oppose the policy of imperialism.

"Third—While we welcome any other method of opposing the re-election of Mr. McKinley we advise direct support of Mr. Bryan as the most effective means of crushing imperialism.

"Resolved, That in declaring that the principles of the Declaration of Independence apply to all men, this Congress means to include the negro race in America as well as the Filipinos. We deprecate all efforts, whether in the South or in the North, to deprive the negro of his rights as a citizen under the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States."

Having thus set forth quite fully the varying political views throughout the country, let us note the results of the election of November, 1900, as illustrative of the numerical strength of the respective parties.

The total number of electoral votes cast was 447, of which the Republican candi-

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dates received 292 and the Democratic 155. None of the other candidates received an electoral vote.

The total popular vote was: Total, 13,581,074; Republican, 7,206,677; Democratic, 6,374,397; Republican plurality, 832,280.

Prohibition, 208,555.

Social Democratic, 84,003.

Middle of the Road or Anti-Fusion People's Party, 50,337.

Socialist Labor Party, 39,537.

Union Reform Party, 5,698.

United Christian Party, 1,060.

The Republicans were successful in twenty-eight States and the Democrats in seventeen. Four years before Mr. McKinley received 271 electoral votes and Mr. Bryan 176. The Republican ticket again carried all the States classed as Republican, except Kentucky, and as an offset to that they carried Mr. Bryan's own State of Nebraska and South Dakota, Kansas, Wyoming, Utah and Washington.

Considering all the circumstances, Mr. Bryan made a remarkable campaign. He carried New York, the metropolis of the country, and reduced Mr. McKinley's plurality in the State from 268,000 in 1896 to 145,000. One cause of his embarrassment was that he was forced to be the champion of too many issues. You know that he was the forefront of the great free silver movement; which fused three parties in his support; he was the leader of the crusade against imperialism and the gigantic fight against the trusts, while single-handed he fought for an income tax. Moreover, he was selected to champion the Boers, at a time when there was a widespread feeling of gratitude to England for its friendship to us during the war with Spain. It cannot be denied that he made a valiant fight, but no living man could stagger to success under such a colossal burden. He repeated his wonderful speaking campaign and proved that his mental and bodily vigor was still unimpaired. After the political turmoil had settled down he returned to his home and began the publication of a weekly newspaper called *The Commoner*. He displayed marked ability in its management and has made it one of the most successful journals of the country.

In an address made before the Philadelphia Union League, November 24, Mr. McKinley, while giving the main credit to "our splendid party," uttered a generous acknowledgment of the coöperation of that great body of voters, who, though members of another party, had immensely assisted in the achievement of the result. Nor could he justly leave out the almost unbroken column of labor engaged in mechanics and agriculture, which had rejected the false doctrine of class distinction, while the business men were everywhere a most effective factor in the contest.

"It will be well for the party in power," said Mr. McKinley, "if it shall understand the true meaning of the result. That result was an unambiguous indorsement of the gold standard, industrial independence, broader markets, commercial expansion, reciprocal trade, the open door in China, the inviolability of public faith, the independence and authority of the judiciary, and peace and a beneficent government, under American sovereignty, in the Philippines. There is no danger from empire. There is no fear for the Republic."

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President McKinley's first message to Congress after his re-election was read with much interest. It opened with words of congratulation over the growing strength and increasing power for good of republican institutions, with the love of American liberty more firmly established than ever before, and with a more universal love and determination to preserve its blessings. In 1800 our population was less than 5,500,000; in 1900 it was 76,300,000, and our territory had grown from 909,050 square miles to 3,846,595 square miles. Education, religion and morality have kept pace with this movement, and the government, while extending its power, has remained true to its foundation principles and abated none of them in dealing with our new peoples and possessions.

One-fifth of the message was devoted to China, but we have already learned of the policy of our country during the Boxer troubles and subsequently. The President recommended a reduction of internal taxes to the amount of $30,000,000, specially including in such reduction the legacy tax bequests for public uses of a literary, educational or charitable character, and he repeated his former recommendation for granting subsidies in aid of shipping.

The second inauguration of President McKinley was one of the most notable in the history of our country. Not all our citizens are familiar with the method of inducting an American President and Vice-President into office. The Vice-President-elect is always sworn in first. He takes the oath in the United States Senate, and it is administered by the presiding officer of that body. He may be a retiring Vice-President himself, or he may be a United States Senator selected by his colleagues as President *pro tempore*. The President is sworn in a few minutes later by the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and for seventy-five years this ceremony has taken place on the east portico of the Capitol.

Great changes have modified the ceremonies since the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson in 1801, when it is said he tied his horse to a post and walked to the Capitol with a gaping and cheering crowd at his heels. Unusual interest was centered around the inauguration of the first President of the twentieth century, for there was no questioning his personal popularity and that of the Vice-President. Tickets of admission to the Senate galleries are worth at such times ten times their weight in gold. More than 1500 persons can crowd themselves into these galleries. A special gallery is set apart for the Diplomatic Corps and for the representatives of foreign governments, who are always present in large numbers with their wives and families, while the President-elect has a section set apart for his family and social friends.

The Senate galleries were thrown open two hours before the inauguration ceremonies were to begin and a few minutes sufficed to fill them to their utmost capacity. The Senate was in session, engaged upon its final function of the session. William P. Frye, junior Republican Senator from Maine, and since the death of Vice-President Hobart, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, was in the chair. The Senators were engaged in a dignified, solemn and tiresome discussion of the River and Harbor Bill, the aim being to "talk it to death," one of the most dreary tasks imaginable, for it necessitated speaking until noon, and the most attentive listener found it impossible to feel interest in anything that was said.

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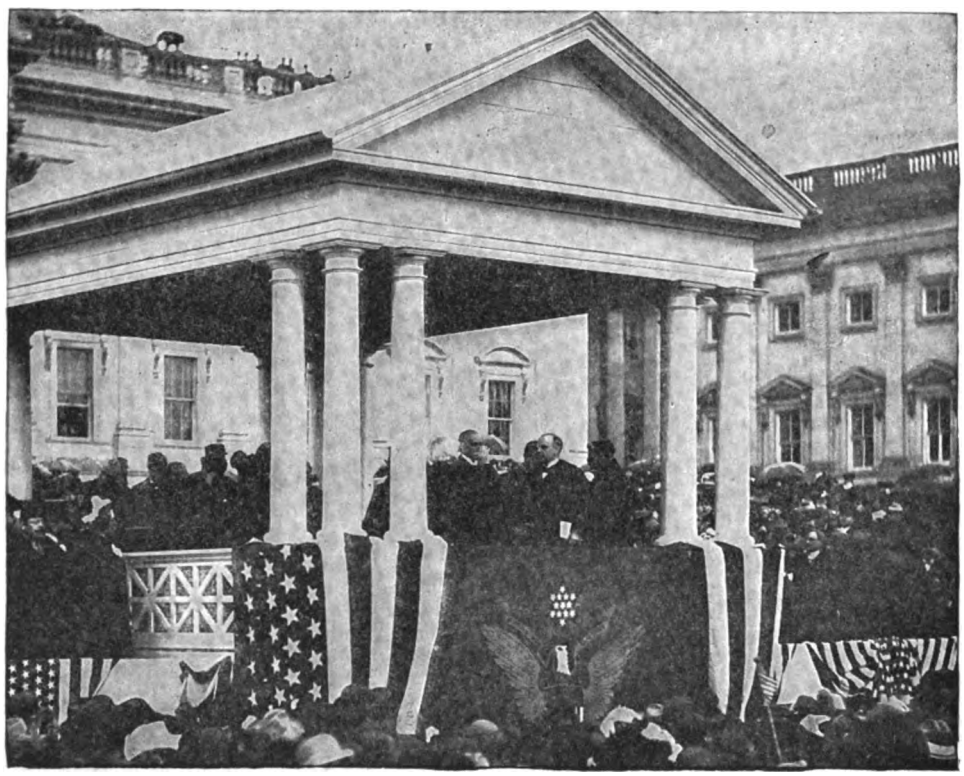
It was entertaining, however, to study the Senate galleries, in one of which sat Mrs. Roosevelt and her children. Immediately after taking the oath as Vice-President, he playfully signalled to her with his hand and she smiled back. The gorgeous attire of the women made the scene dazzling in its beauty. Amid the monotonous hum of discussion, the galleries gradually filled up. The most picturesque figure was Madam Wu, wife of the popular Chinese minister, who sat beside Secretary Chung and used a fan of very small dimensions. Her jacket was of brilliant blue, plentifully adorned with gold braid, and her black velvet cap scintillated with diamonds and gold lace. Chung's



CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER ADMINISTERING THE OATH OF OFFICE TO PRESIDENT MCKINLEY.

jacket was of royal purple and steel braid, a red button on the crest of his black velvet cap indicating his rank.

Just before noon the rambling discussion over the River and Harbor Bill was terminated by Mr. Hanna of Ohio and Mr. Spooner of Wisconsin striding upon the floor of the Senate. This meant that the President had arrived from the White House, and all eyes were turned toward the President's gallery, where Adjutant-General Corbin, resplendent in full uniform, was seen coming down the steps to the front seat with Mrs. McKinley on his arm. She was an invalid, and looked feebler and paler than usual. Once before she had seen her husband inaugurated as President of the United States, and she told her friends that nothing should keep her away from his second inauguration. General Corbin sat on her right, and Abner McKinley, brother of the President, on her left,

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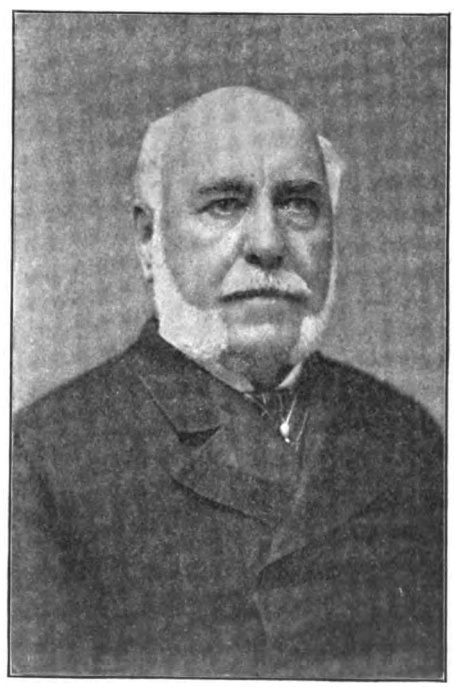
other relations of the President being present. One well-remembered figure, however, was absent, that of the venerable mother, whose sweet, wrinkled face showed four years before that she was the happiest woman in the United States. She died two years after the first inauguration.

A favorite plan of the Senate when time slips too fast to permit everything to be done "decently and in order" is to turn back the clock. Since it represents the official time of the Senate it can be made to say whatever the whim of the Senators desires. The River and Harbor Bill had been argued out of life, but some formalities, such as the passage of complimentary resolutions, remained to be observed, and the hand of the clock was moved back thirteen minutes. President McKinley's Cabinet entered in the order of their rank: Secretary of State Hay, Secretary of the Treasury Gage, Secretary of War Root, Attorney-General Griggs, Postmaster-General Smith, Secretary of the Navy Long, Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock, and Secretary of Agriculture Wilson. They occupied the seats in the front row assigned to the Diplomatic Corps on the floor of the Senate, and were accompanied by Admiral Dewey, General Miles, General Daniel E. Sickles and General Francis Vinton Greene, all in full uniform.

Mr. Frye's little ivory mallet rapped sharply, and the assistant-sergeant-at-arms in an unsteady voice, as he stood at the main entrance, announced the Speaker and members of the House of Representatives. They marched in, led by Speaker Henderson, the Senators rising and standing until the Representatives were seated. The gavel rapped again, and the ambassadors and ministers from foreign countries were announced. Senators and representatives again stood on their feet as the Diplomatic Corps marched down the aisle headed by Lord Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, dean of the Diplomatic Corps. The strictest etiquette rules among them, and every man knew unerringly the seat which he should take, so that everything moved like clockwork.



LORD PAUNCEFOTE.

The dress of this distinguished body was a gorgeous dream beyond the power of pen to describe. The coat fronts were of gold, the scabbards of their swords the same, and their cockade hats were of gold lace and white ostrich feathers. The decorations given them by their sovereigns were jewels, and many wore sashes of crimson, red, dark blue, light blue, gold and emerald green. Some wore spotless gauntlets and others white kid gloves. The corps represented Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Denmark, Ecuador, Portugal, Haiti, Belgium, China, Great Britain, Italy, Germany, France, Russia, Mexico, Sweden and Norway, Guatemala, Turkey, Brazil, Chili, Costa Rica, Spain, Nicaragua, Nether-

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lands, Siam, Argentine Republic, Salvador, Japan, Peru, Bolivia, Persia, Uruguay, Venezuela and Corea.

The next body to be announced was the Supreme Court of the United States, which walked in headed by Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller. All were in flowing black robes and with solemn pace they took their seats close to the desk of the Vice-President, the Senators, Representatives and the Diplomatic Corps remaining on their feet until the Justices were seated. To the response of the gavel the next announcement was "The Vice-President-elect of the United States." Everybody arose, and in strode Theodore Roosevelt of New York, accompanied by Senator Spooner of Wisconsin and Representative Dalzell of Pennsylvania. Mr. Roosevelt was dressed in black, with a carnation in the buttonhole of his frock coat. He was greeted with hand-clapping, and walked with his firm, elastic step to a chair on the right of the raised dais from which the Vice-President presides over the Senate.

A hush of expectancy fell upon the brilliant throng, which was broken by the announcement: "The President of the United States," and in walked William McKinley of Ohio. At the sharp tap of the gavel every one rose to his feet, amid hand-clapping, and accompanied by Senator Hanna, Senator Jones of Arkansas, Senator Spooner, and Representatives Cannon of Illinois, Dalzell of Pennsylvania, and McRae of Arkansas, he was escorted to his seat slightly in front of the Vice-President's chair, while on either side of him sat the escort that had brought him into the Senate.

Everything being in readiness, Mr. Frye announced that the Vice-President-elect would present himself at the desk and take the oath required by law. Mr. Roosevelt walked upon the dais, shook hands with Mr. Frye, and then lifted his right hand while Mr. Frye read the oath, to which all listened in reverent silence. At the last words, Mr. Roosevelt bowed his head, and the book which all Vice-Presidents sign in taking the oath was placed before him and he signed it. Then Theodore Roosevelt was Vice-President of the United States. With the announcement that the United States Senate stood adjourned *sine die*, the work of Mr. Frye was over and Mr. Roosevelt grasped the little ivory mallet. Mr. Milburn, the blind chaplain, uttered a prayer, the Vice-President remaining standing, while Mr. McKinley leaned forward in the attitude of devotion.

The scene at this moment was a curious study. Lord Pauncefote, as a member of the Church of England, was as devout in appearance as the President, but among the Diplomatic Corps were many who were trained in other than the Christian faith. Some displayed no interest, some looked politely bored, and the Chinese minister, Mr. Wu's, broad, bland countenance resembled that of a mischievous schoolboy. All were relieved when the prayer came to an end, after which the Vice-President delivered his inaugural address to the Senators. Since it was to become his province often to speak officially to his countrymen, we shall not quote his words, but content ourselves with saying what is really unnecessary to say, that his words were marked by excellent taste and were well received.

At its conclusion the Vice-President directed that the secretary of the Senate should read President McKinley's proclamation for an extra session of the Senate, after

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which the Vice-President swore in, by groups, the newly elected Senators, each signing the oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

This concluded the proceedings in the Senate, and it was time to adjourn to the east portico of the Capitol. A stand had been covered in white, and there President McKinley was to take the oath and read his inaugural address. There was a rush from the Senate galleries to the platform which had been put up close to the President's stand. At this moment rain began falling, and in a few minutes it became a drenching downpour. Despite the discomfort there was not a vacant seat upon the platform, and 80,000 people must have faced the stand from which the President was to speak, while the trees were never before loaded with such a crop of human fruit.

But the rain played havoc with the dignitaries, whose gorgeous robes in most cases were inclosed in overcoats that looked dingy in contrast with the dazzling glimpses of gilt and gold beneath, while ostrich feathers drooped like the plumage of drowned birds. At one time a stampede was threatened, but the occasion was too rare and important to be defeated by the elements. The oath was administered in the usual manner by Chief Justice Fuller, the President with his right hand on the page of the Bible, saying in distinct tones:

"I, William McKinley, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of the President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

The President then read in a clear, ringing voice his inaugural address, every word being heard to the furthest limits of the immense assemblage.

MINISTER WU TING-FANG.

You know that it has not been our habit to do more than summarize now and then the addresses of the respective Presidents on such occasions, but although no mortal man suspected the fact, this was to be the last time that William McKinley was to stand in so impressive, conspicuous and striking official light before his countrymen. The shadow of death was already upon him, and it was to be his to die by the hand of an assassin, as two predecessors had already done. Only a few months were to roll away when once more the world was to be horrified by a shocking crime such as we all

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believed could never be repeated after the fall of Garfield. This being the fact, a peculiar interest attaches to the last inaugural address of President McKinley, and makes appropriate the quotation of some of its passages.

The President first made a running and naturally favorable commentary upon the work accomplished during his first administration, and declared that what remained unfulfilled was a continuing obligation resting with undiminished force upon the Executive and the Congress. He had done all that he honorably could to avoid the impending war, but it came with a result signally favorable to American arms and in the highest degree honorable to the government. We were now at peace with the world, and it was his fervent prayer that all future differences between us and other Powers might be settled by peaceful arbitration.

"Entrusted by the people for a second time with the office of President, I enter upon its administration appreciating the great responsibilities which attach to this renewed honor and commission, promising unreserved devotion on my part to their faithful discharge and reverently invoking for my guidance the direction and favor of Almighty God. I should shrink from the duties this day assumed if I did not feel that in their performance I should have the coöperation of the wise and patriotic men of all parties. It encourages me for the great task which I now undertake to believe that those who voluntarily committed to me the trust imposed upon the Chief Executive of the Republic will give to me generous support in my duties to 'preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States,' and to 'care that the laws be faithfully executed.' The national purpose is indicated through a national election. It is the constitutional method of ascertaining the public will. When once it is registered it is a law to us all and faithful observance should follow its decrees.

"Strong hearts and helpful hands are needed, and, fortunately, we have them in every part of our beloved country. We are reunited. Sectionalism has disappeared. Division on public questions can no longer be traced by the war maps of 1861. These old differences less and less disturb the judgment. Existing problems demand the thought and quicken the conscience of the country, and the responsibility for their presence as well as for their righteous settlement rests upon us all—no more upon me than upon you. There are some national questions in the solution of which patriotism should exclude partisanship. Magnifying their difficulties will not take them off our hands nor facilitate their adjustment. Distrust of the capacity, integrity and high purposes of the American people will not be an inspiring theme for future political contests. Dark pictures and gloomy forebodings are worse than useless. These only becloud, they do not help to point the way to safety and honor. 'Hope maketh not ashamed.' The prophets of evil were not the builders of the Republic, nor in its crises since have they saved or served it. The faith of the fathers was a mighty force in its creation and the faith of their descendants has wrought its progress and furnished its defenders.

"They are obstructionists who despair and who would destroy confidence in the ability of our people to solve wisely and for civilization the mighty problems resting upon them. The American people, intrenched in freedom at home, take their love for it with them wherever they go, and they reject as mistaken and unworthy the doctrine

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that we lose our own liberties by securing the enduring foundations of liberty to others. Our institutions will not deteriorate by extension, and our sense of justice will not abate under tropic suns in distant seas. As heretofore, so hereafter will the nation demonstrate its fitness to administer any new estate which events devolve upon it, and in the fear of God will 'take occasion by the hand and make the bounds of freedom wider yet.' If there are those among us who would make our way more difficult, we must not be disheartened, but the more earnestly dedicate ourselves to the task upon which we have rightly entered. The path of progress is seldom smooth. New things are often found hard to do. Our fathers found them so. We find them so. They are inconvenient. They cost us something. But are we not made better for the effort and sacrifice, and are not those we serve lifted up and blessed?

"We will be consoled, too, with the fact that opposition has confronted every onward movement of the Republic from its opening hour until now, but without success. The Republic has marched on and on, and its every step has exalted freedom and humanity. We are undergoing the same ordeal as did our predecessors nearly a century ago. We are following the course they blazed. They triumphed. Will their successors falter and plead organic impotency in the nation? Surely after one hundred and twenty-five years of achievement for mankind we will not now surrender our equality with other powers on matters fundamental and essential to nationality. With no such purpose was the nation created. In no such spirit has it developed its full and independent sovereignty. We adhere to the principle of equality among ourselves, and by no act of ours will we assign to ourselves a subordinate rank in the family of nations.

"My fellow citizens, the public events of the past four years have gone into history. They are too near to justify recital. Some of them were unforeseen; many of them momentous and far-reaching in their consequences to ourselves and our relations with the rest of the world. The part which the United States bore so honorably in the thrilling scenes in China, while new to American life, has been in harmony with its true spirit and best traditions, and in dealing with the results its policy will be that of moderation and fairness.

"We face at this moment a most important question—that of the future relations of the United States and Cuba. With our near neighbors we must remain close friends. The declaration of the purposes of this Government in the resolution of April 20, 1898, must be made good. Ever since the evacuation of the island by the army of Spain the Executive with all practicable speed has been assisting its people in the successive steps necessary to the establishment of a free and independent government, prepared to assume and perform the obligations of international law which now rests upon the United States under the Treaty of Paris. The convention elected by the people to frame a constitution is approaching the completion of its labors. The transfer of American control to the new government is of such great importance, involving an obligation resulting from our intervention and the treaty of peace, that I am glad to be advised by the recent act of Congress of the policy which the legislative branch of the Government deems essential to the best interests of Cuba and the United States. The principles which led to our intervention require that the fundamental law upon which the new

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government rests should be adapted to secure a government capable of performing the duties and discharging the functions of a separate nation, of observing its international obligations, of protecting life and property, insuring order, safety and liberty, and conforming to the established and historical policy of the United States in its relation to Cuba.

"The peace which we are pledged to leave to the Cuban people must carry with it the guaranties of permanence. We became sponsor for the pacification of the island and we remain accountable to the Cubans, no less than to our own country and people, for the reconstruction of Cuba as a free commonwealth on abiding foundations of right, justice, liberty and assured order. Our enfranchisement of the people will not be completed until free Cuba shall be 'a reality, not a name, a perfect entity, not a hasty experiment bearing within itself the elements of failure.'

"While the treaty of peace with Spain was ratified on the 6th of February, 1899, and ratifications were exchanged nearly two years ago, the Congress has indicated no form of government for the Philippine Islands. It has, however, provided an army to enable the Executive to suppress insurrection, restore peace, give security to the inhabitants, and establish the authority of the United States throughout the archipelago. It has authorized the organization of native troops as auxiliary to the regular force. It has been advised from time to time of the acts of the military and naval officers in the islands, of my action in appointing civil commissions, of the instructions with which they were charged, of their duties and powers, of their recommendations, and of their several acts under Executive commission, together with the very complete general information they have submitted. These reports fully set forth the conditions, past and present, in the islands, and the instructions clearly show the principles which will guide the Executive until the Congress shall, as it is required to do by the treaty, determine 'the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants.'

"The Congress having added the sanction of its authority to the powers already possessed and exercised by the Executive under the Constitution, thereby leaving with the Executive the responsibility for the government of the Philippines, I shall continue the efforts already begun until order shall be restored throughout the islands, and as fast as conditions permit will establish local governments, in the formation of which the full coöperation of the people has been already invited, and when established will encourage the people to administer them. The settled purpose, long ago proclaimed, to afford the inhabitants of the islands self-government as fast as they were ready for it will be pursued with earnestness and fidelity. Already something has been accomplished in this direction. The Government's representatives, civil and military, are doing faithful and noble work in their mission of emancipation, and merit the approval and support of their countrymen.

"The most liberal terms of amnesty have already been communicated to the insurgents; the way is still open for those who have raised their arms against the Government for honorable submission to its authority. Our countrymen should not be deceived. We are not waging war against the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. A portion of them are making war against the United States. By far the greater part of the inhab-

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itants recognize American sovereignty and welcome it as a guaranty of order and of security for life, property, liberty, freedom of conscience and the pursuit of happiness. To them full protection will be given. They shall not be abandoned. We will not leave the destiny of the loyal millions in the islands to the disloyal thousands who are in rebellion against the United States. Order under civil institutions will come as soon as those who now break the peace shall keep it. Force will not be needed or used when those who make war against us shall make it no more. May it end without further bloodshed, and there be ushered in the reign of peace to be made permanent by a government of liberty under law!"

Thousands of persons assembled in the White Lot in the rear of the White House and in the adjacent streets and buildings in the evening to enjoy the elaborate exhibition of fireworks, but the downfall of rain disappointed them. The inauguration ceremonies wound up with the ball held in the Pension Office Building. It was spectacular and picturesque, and the dancing continued until the gray light of morning. Despite the gloomy weather outside, all was light and joy and gayety within. Thus was launched the second administration of President McKinley, with no one dreaming of the appalling shadow that was soon to overspread the land and throw all hearts into mourning.

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CHAPTER IX.

McKINLEY'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1901—THE PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION—ASSASSINATION OF THE PRESIDENT.

ONE of the most admirable traits of the American character is the sense of fairness and the good-natured philosophy with which defeat is accepted. In the heat of a political campaign orators for the respective sides strive to their utmost to convince the public that the only way by which the country can be saved from impending destruction is to vote for their principles and candidates, and that the end of all things is sure to come if the other party is successful. The tremendous fight is kept up until the polls are closed. A few hours later the result is flashed throughout the breadth and length of the land. The sun continues to rise and set as it has been in the habit of doing; the hum of industry is not hushed; prosperity sweeps along as before, and, except for a certain degree of disappointment, everybody is satisfied. The public orators have been liberally paid for their bursts of eloquence and can laugh and jest with their opponents, and all are as good friends as before. Patriotism is too deeply imbedded in the hearts of Americans to be weakened by any political reverses. The United States is too great a nation to suffer any setback at the hands of the few or the many. Heaven has pointed out the path she is to follow and no human power can swerve her from that path.

When Mr. Bryan called at the White House to pay his respects to the Executive, who had defeated him, he was received with cordial respect and exchanged jests with his conqueror and warmly wished him a successful administration. Some of the most earnest opponents were friends and associates in business, whose intimacy did not suffer a jar, while the millions of citizens were almost as well satisfied as if the result had gone the other way.

The defeat of one party in almost any of the Central or South American republics means a revolution. Bullets and ballots go together, and a daily diet of news is the "pronunciamentos" of the disappointed chieftains or despicable leaders, who care only for the advancement of their own selfish interests. Nothing of the kind is possible in our country, for the real safety of the republic rests upon our deep, ineradicable love of law and order and the determination to see that justice is done to every one. The most popular general or politician in the whole length and breadth of the land would be execrated and summarily punished by his own ardent supporters should he raise his hand against the lawful government.

Perhaps the most stupendous organization of consolidated capital was that of the United States Steel Corporation, which was completed in the spring of 1901. Imagination cannot grasp the vastness of this project, but some idea may be formed from such a minor item as the simple clerical work of turning the shares of the constituent com-

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panies into stock of the new corporation. In each of the ten trust companies twenty-five clerks toiled for fifteen hours a day through many weeks in receiving the old stock, figuring how many shares of the United States Steel Corporation were to be issued against it, sending out trust certificates of the deposits, and lastly, in issuing new stock. By the middle of April only one per cent. of the stock of the former companies remained to be deposited for exchange for the new shares. This was due to the fact that the fractional issue was in the hands of Europeans and others who were absent and therefore could not be promptly reached. Early in the same month the announcement was made of an increase of stock of from $850,000,000, which was planned at the beginning of the work, to $1,100,000,000, equally divided into preferred and common shares, so that with the $304,000,000 of bonds already provided for, the total securities issued by the new corporation attained the inconceivable sum of $1,404,000,000. The increase of stock was to be used to acquire the property of the American Bridge Company and the Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines, which, in addition to the Duluth, Mesaba & Northern Railroad, own valuable ore-mining properties in Minnesota. This move was in keeping with the policy to control so far as possible the sources of raw material.

The American people have a special fondness for expositions. Since the great Centennial in Philadelphia in 1876 different sections of the Union have made displays that attracted the admiration and wonder, not only of all parts of our own country, but of the world. Thousands have crossed the ocean and come from remote quarters of the globe to look upon our productions and exhibits, and have been well repaid for the time and expense.

An ambitious essay in that direction was the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, New York, which was formally dedicated on May 20. It was said "to celebrate the achievements of a century of progress in the western world." As the name indicates, this exposition was intended to illustrate the progress of the Western hemisphere in science, arts and industries, or in "all the Americas." Very nearly every country of North, Central and South America was represented by its indigenous products.

Never before was there such an exhibition of the progress in electrical engineering. That mysterious, subtle and thus far incomprehensible force in nature known as electricity is rapidly becoming the most potent factor in the science, industry and development of the future, and no one could visit Buffalo during the Exposition without being profoundly impressed with the vague glimpse given of some of the possibilities of this wonderful agent. The neighboring Niagara Falls furnished limitless power upon which the Exposition drew at will. The Electricity Building was 500 by 150 feet, thus giving 75,000 square feet for exhibition purposes.

Following out its policy of encouraging such useful efforts, the government was represented in all its departments. One noteworthy exhibit was made by the Navy Department of models of battleships, monitors, cruisers and other craft, including that curious experimental vessel, the Holland submarine boat, while the victorious fleets of Admirals Dewey and Sampson were beautifully reproduced in models. There was a working model of a dry-dock and all the various types of naval artillery, rapid-firing guns, torpedoes, shot and shell, etc.

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The amazing progress made in the mechanic arts for the advancement of agriculture was shown by a bewildering display of agricultural machinery and implements, notable among which were the different types of traction engines, portable engines, gas, gasoline, oil and steam engines, road-making machinery, ditchers, rollers, stone-crushers and

ILLUMINATION OF THE ELECTRIC TOWER AT NIGHT, BUFFALO EXPOSITION.

others. In the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building were witnessed the highest attainments of Western civilization in artistic skill, in handicraft, in the useful arts, in education, literature, libraries, medicine, sanitation, etc. Some of the processes of manufacture were of the most intricate nature. A special building was devoted to

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American Ethnology and Archæology, and the exhibits could not have been of a more interesting and instructive nature.

It would seem that enough has already been named to draw enormous multitudes to Buffalo, and no doubt, if there had been no more, many would have gone thither, but the American visitor loves to be entertained and amused as well as instructed, and the authorities controlling such displays would be unwise to disregard this demand. There were a realistic reproduction of Kilauea, the great volcano of Hawaii, an oldtime

THE ELECTRIC TOWER, BUFFALO EXPOSITION.

southern plantation, the sacred places of Mecca, a German village, a Philippine village, an animal show, cabins of the Six Nations and many other curious and unique attractions.

To many the most enjoyable feature was the Midway, which occupied the west side of the grounds from the Elmwood Gate northward. Among the notable features of the Midway were: The Beautiful Orient, a Giant Seesaw, the African Village, the Glass Factory, Bostock's Wild Animals, the Scenic Railway and Alt Nürnberg, the last

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including a Bavarian Military Band, which recalled Chicago. New features were: The House Upside Down, from the Paris Fair; a Trip to the Moon, the Colorado Gold Mine, Darkness and Dawn, Dreamland, the Infant Incubator, and Venice in America, the last named opening into the main canal with gondolas and launches. The Hawaiian Village reproduced some of the native scenes of that famous island and the Hulu Hulu dancers were unique and pleasing. The buildings of the Philippine village displayed all the characteristics of our new possessions even to the guard of soldiers. The Streets of Mexico showed shops and a theater, gayly decked dancers and strangers in their sombreros, with food and drinks daily seen in the land of Diaz. The bull-fighters were not allowed to kill, but demonstrated their skill by affixing waxed rosettes from the points of their weapons to the fatal spot. In the Indian Congress were represented more than twenty-five tribes from the trans-Mississippi country. The street was over a mile in length and displayed some forty concessions.

The formal opening took place May 20, in the presence of fully 40,000 persons. The principal orators were Vice-President Roosevelt and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts. Each took occasion to laud the Monroe Doctrine as an indispensable creed of the Western Hemisphere, and by some it was feared that certain passages in the address of Senator Lodge were more likely to offend than to conciliate the South American peoples. Speaking to those of Central and South America, he said:

"You have your own countries and your own governments. We wish you peace, prosperity, an increasing population and growing wealth; but we wish you to have it under your own flags and in absolute independence, without any possibility of interference by Europe. We ask you to be true to the doctrine which we announced seventy-five years ago. If you will put your faith in it and be true to it we will defend it. No American soil shall be given up to any power of Europe. We wish nothing but friendship with Europe; we do not seek to meddle in any way with European affairs and we do not wish to have Europe meddle with us. No power which now has no foothold in this hemisphere can be permitted to come in here and by purchase, lease or other arrangement get control of even the smallest island for the purpose of establishing a naval station or a place of arms.

"When Spain sued for peace we could have demanded from her an island which would have given us a naval station in European waters, but we made no such request. In return, we say no European Power shall come in here to establish a naval station in the Caribbean sea. A place of arms at that point, owned or controlled by one of the powers of Europe not now owning any territory in America, would be a menace to the canal and to every South American state. Under no conditions, under no stress of circumstances can the smallest island or the most barren promontory on either continent ever be ceded or sold to one of the great powers of Europe.

"This danger is real. It cannot be warded off by brave words, by Fourth of July orations or by confident boasting of our strength and resources. It can only be avoided by a thorough agreement among all American States upon the Monroe Doctrine, and by unceasing watchfulness, complete preparation, and the most absolute readiness on the part of the United States."

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"Sitting Bull"
Typical American Indian.

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"SITTING BULL"—SIOUX CHIEF.

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The gates of the Exposition were closed on the 2d of November. Vast as had been the assemblages in attendance (8.350,000) the enterprise fell more than $3,500,000 short of covering the expenses, with nearly half a million dollars due to contractors. It is a duty to speak plainly, and the following from the Boston *Herald* tells the story:

"The failure of the Buffalo exposition financially creates no surprise. It was expected from the fact that similar affairs preceding it had met with that fate, and that the expense attending them all precludes the possibility of profit. We are inclined to think, however, that the reported deficiency is greater than there was need for it to be. The old story of being unprepared at the time of opening had something to do with this, and the tragedy connected with the President operated; but aside from these, the greediness of a class of people in Buffalo repelled those who desired to visit the fair. The hotel charges there were enormous and most unreasonable. They were so extortionate as to drive people to Niagara Falls, with an inconvenience of a journey of several miles to the fair each day, rather than submit to them. No blame can attach to the managers for this. They were simply unfortunate; but it was a pity that the city acquired the reputation that these grasping people gave it. The fair itself was a magnificent spectacle, which deserved to be seen by a great many more people than visited it. In that light it created enthusiastic admiration."

In one respect the Buffalo Exposition will always retain a sorrowful prominence over all that have gone before. Early in September President McKinley went thither as the guest of the city and to help promote by his presence the international peace and good-will among the people of the Western continents and of the world itself. On the 5th he delivered a speech in the Exposition grounds wherein he outlined a broad and liberal scheme of commercial reciprocity between ourselves and foreign nations, and which was accepted at home and abroad as an honest determination on the part of our government to remove one of the principal causes of international quarrels. Among other things, the President said:

"Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fanciful security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions and thereby make a greater demand for home labor. The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are

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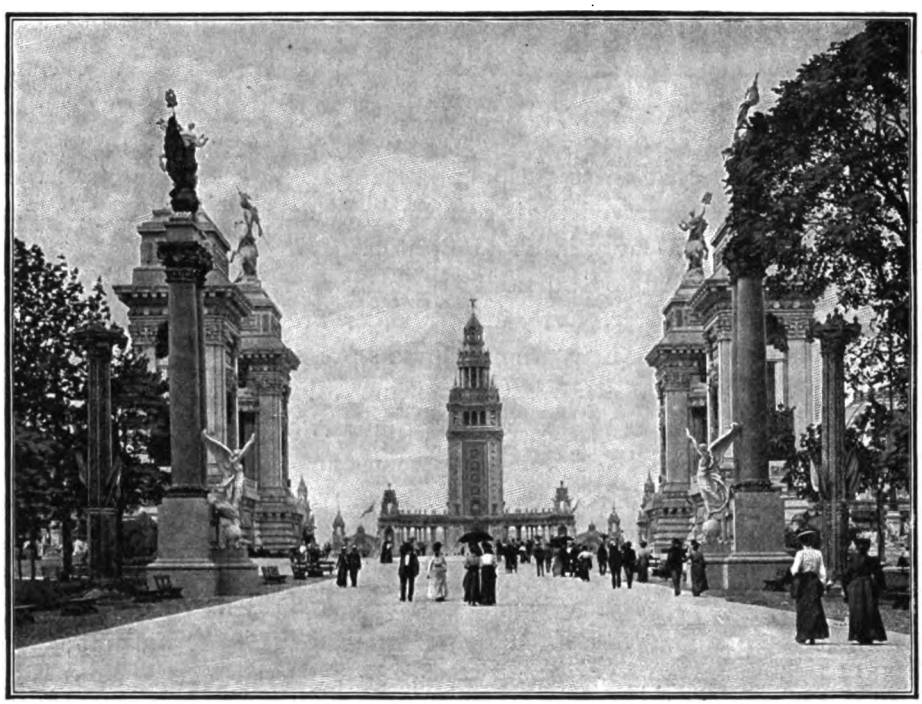
unprofitable. A policy of good-will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not.

"If, perchance, some of our tariffs are no longer needed, for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our market abroad?"

On the following day the President attended an organ recital in the Temple of Music in the Exposition grounds, where he held a public reception in order to allow the multitude to see and greet the Chief Magistrate of the country. This custom, as you know, is peculiarly American and is a popular one. We cannot imagine an



THE TRIUMPHAL CAUSEWAY, BUFFALO EXPOSITION.

emperor or king standing up for hours and shaking hands and exchanging pleasant greetings with thousands of the plain people!

The President was attended by John G. Milburn, president of the Pan-American Exposition, and by his private secretary, Mr. Cortelyou. As usual several members of the Government Secret Service were lingering near to prevent any hostile action, for there is no saying when and where some murderous crank will leap into activity.

Among the crowd steadily filing past was an ordinary looking man, whose right hand was swathed in a handkerchief, as if he was suffering from a wound. Edging easily along with the others, he attracted no special attention, for there was nothing in his appearance to cause suspicion. When he was within two feet of the President the latter caught his eye, bowed with a smile and extended his hand. Immediately the

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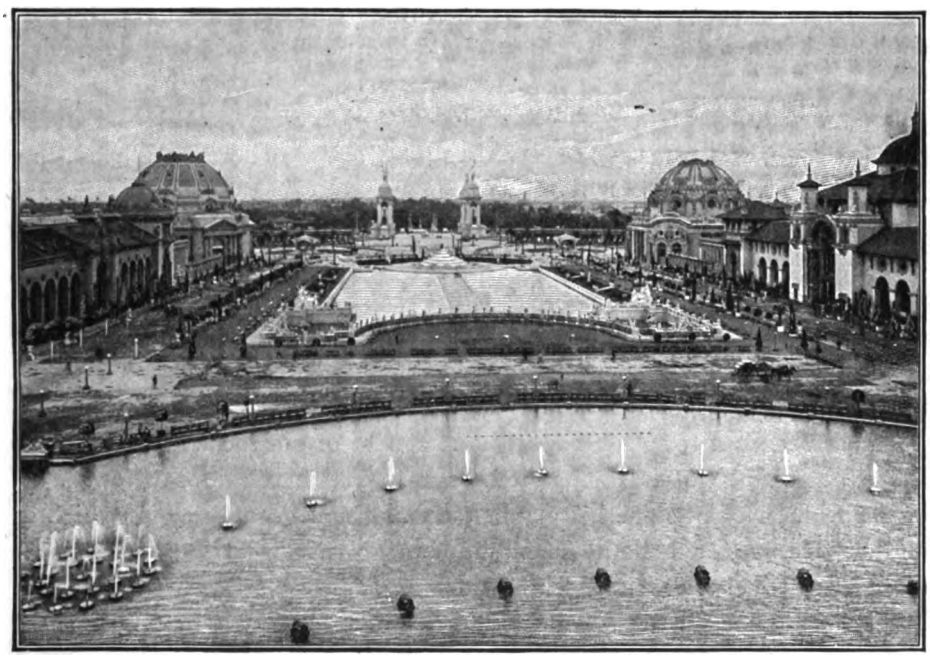
sharp crack of a revolver rang out above the hum and murmur of voices. The President had been shot, though several minutes passed before the people realized that one of the most horrifying of crimes had been committed. An Exposition official who witnessed the tragedy gave the following account:

"Immediately ahead of him [the assassin] in the line was a little girl, and the President, after patting her kindly on the head, turned with a smile of welcome and an extended hand. The assassin thrust out both his hands, brushed aside the President's right hand with his left hand, lurched forward against the President, and, thrusting his right hand close against his breast, pulled the trigger twice. The shots came in such quick succession as to be almost simultaneous. At the first shot the President quivered and clutched at his chest. At the second shot he doubled slightly forward and sank



LOOKING SOUTH FROM THE ELECTRIC TOWER, BUFFALO EXPOSITION.

back. It all happened in a moment. Quick as was Czolgosz, he was not quick enough to fire a third shot. Almost before the noise of the firing sounded he was seized by a secret service man who stood directly opposite the President and hurled to the floor. A huge negro leaped upon him as he fell and they rolled over on the floor. Soldiers of the United States Artillery detailed at the reception sprang upon the pair, and the Exposition police and secret service detectives also rushed upon him. A detective clutched the assassin's right hand, tore from it the handkerchief and seized the revolver. The artillerymen, seeing Czolgosz with the revolver, grabbed him and held him powerless. Snatching the pistol from his grasp, a private of the artillery got the pistol. Meanwhile, the President, supported by Detective Geary and President Milburn, was assisted to a chair. His face was deathly white. He made no outcry, but sank back with one hand holding his abdomen and the other fumbling at his breast. His eyes

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were open and he was clearly conscious of all that happened. He looked into President Milburn's face and gasped the name of his secretary, Cortelyou. Mr. Cortelyou bent over the President, who gasped brokenly: 'Be careful about my wife. Do not tell her.'"

Even in his mortal extremity the President thought of the miscreant and expressed the hope that he would suffer no violence. Everything that was possible was done for the wounded Executive. He was taken to the emergency hospital in the Exposition grounds, where the highest medical and surgical skill was quickly placed at his service. The first bulletin given out by Mr. Cortelyou caused encouragement and the belief was general throughout the country that the President would recover. He himself was hopeful, but the autopsy proved that a fatal termination from the wound was inevitable from the first. The end came at 2.15 o'clock A. M., Saturday, September 14. The last words of the stricken President were: "Good-bye. All good-bye. It is God's way. His will be done."

The body was taken at first to Washington and lay in the White House till the morning of the 17th, and was then removed to the Capitol, where simple and impressive funeral rites were performed. On the 19th the remains were deposited in the Receiving Lawn Cemetery to await final burial. No more striking exhibition of the grief of a nation could have been given than the stoppage of all railroad trains, of trolley lines, of work in factories and places of business throughout the country during five minutes after the time of placing the remains in the vault. Among the tributes to the martyred President none surpassed that of Secretary Hay at the Chamber of Commerce dinner, New York, on the evening of November 19, 1901:

"Let me advert, but for a moment, to one aspect of our recent bereavement, which is especially interesting to those engaged, as you are, in relations whose scope is as wide as the world. Never, since history began, has there been an event which so immediately, and so deeply, touched the sensibilities of so vast a portion of the human race. The sun, which set over Lake Erie while the surgeons were still battling for the President's life, had not risen on the Atlantic before every capital of the civilized world was in mourning. And it was not from the centres of civilization alone that the voices of sorrow and sympathy reached us; they came as well from the utmost limits of the world, from the most remote islands of the sea; not only from the courts of Christendom, but from the temples of strange gods and the homes of exotic religions. Never before has the heart of the world throbbed with a sorrow so universal. Never before have the kingdoms of the earth paid such homage at the grave of a citizen. Something of this was naturally due to his great office—presiding as he did over the government of a nation holding in fee the certainty of illimitable greatness. But no ruler can acquire the instinctive regard and esteem of the world without possessing most unusual qualities of mind and character. This dead President of ours possessed them. He was strong; he was wise; he was gentle. With no external advantages beyond the mass of his fellow citizens, he rose by sheer merit and will to the summit of distinction and power. With a growth as certain and gradual as that of an oak, he grew stronger and wiser with every year that he lived. Confronted continually with new and exacting

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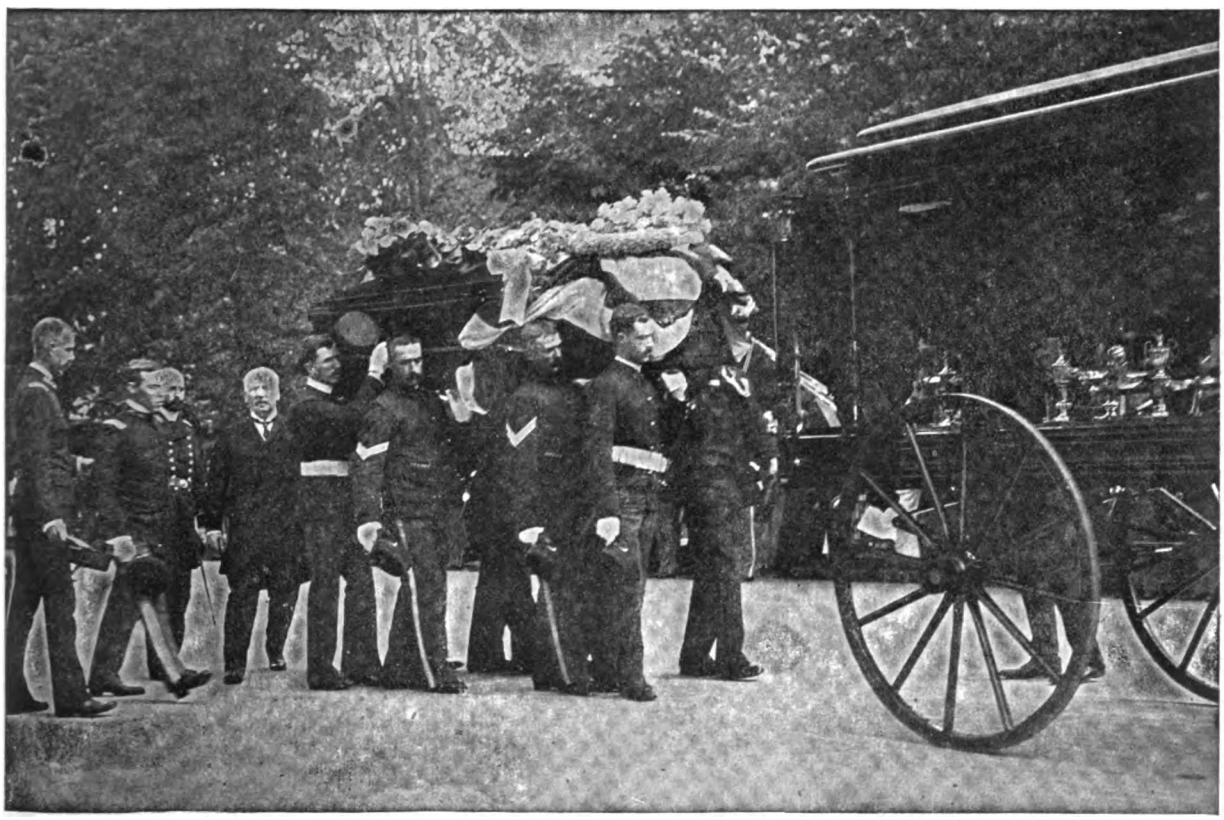
situations, he was never unequal to them; his serenity was never clouded; he took the storm and the sunshine with the same cheery welcome; his vast influence expanded with his opportunities. Like that Divine Master whom he humbly and reverently served, he grew continually 'in favor with God and man.'

"One simple reason why the millions of this country mourned him as if they had buried a brother, and why all the nations of the earth felt that his death was a loss to humanity at large, was that he loved his fellow men. There were literally no bounds to his lavish good will. In political genius, in wisdom for government, in power of con-



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TRANSFERRING THE FLOWER-COVERED CASKET TO THE HEARSE, FOR THE JOURNEY TO THE CITY HALL.

trolling men, he was one of the elect of the earth—there were few like him; but in sentiment and feeling he was the most perfect democrat I ever met. He never knew what it meant to regard another man as his inferior or as his superior. Nothing human was alien to him. Even his death was in that sense significant. He was slain in the moment when with that delightful smile we knew so well—which seemed like the very sunshine of the spirit—he was stretching forth a generous hand to greet the lowest and meanest unit in that crowd of many thousands. He made no demagogical parade of his sympathy with the masses, but this sympathy was a part of his life. He knew no interest which was not theirs; their welfare was as dear to him as the blood in his

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own veins, and in spite of calumny and falsehood the people knew it, and they loved him in return.

"Others will rise and labor and do good service to the Republic. We shall never lack good men when the emergency calls for them. Thank God! we do not lack them now. But it may well be doubted if in any century of the glorious future before us there will ever appear two such sincere, high-minded, self-respecting lovers of the people as the last fifty years have shown us in Abraham Lincoln and William McKinley.

"But the world must go on, though the greatest and best beloved fall by the way. I dare to come to you because you have asked me, and he would have wished it, for he held that our personal feelings should never be considered when they conflicted with a public duty. And if I fall immeasurably below the standard to which he has accustomed you, the very comparisons you draw will be a tribute to his memory."

The assassin was Leon F. Czolgosz, a native of Detroit, and a young man, whose brain had been poisoned by the teachings of a set of pestilent anarchists who are permitted a license in the United States that would not be tolerated in any other country on the face of the earth. They preach murder and assassination, and we let them shriek and howl to their hearts' content, rarely or never interfering until some wretch is roused to the actual commission of a hideous crime like that of the murder of President McKinley.

Prompt measures were taken by the authorities for the protection of the criminal immediately after the shooting, or he would have been torn to pieces by the infuriated people. There was no need of violating any law to punish him, since the law itself was certain to do so. He was placed on trial at Buffalo, September 23, and had for his counsel two of the most distinguished lawyers in the country, both of whom had been justices of the Supreme Court of Erie county. He plead guilty, but as the law of the State does not admit of such a plea in capital cases, the court ordered a plea of "not guilty" to be entered. All that his counsel could urge in his defence was the possibility of insanity, but the jury needed only a half hour to return the verdict "guilty," and he suffered the penalty of his crime in the latter part of the following month. Before his execution Czolgosz declared that no one was associated with him in the assassination, nor had any one urged him to the deed. It is none the less true that the leading anarchists, male and female, who have been allowed to go unwhipt of justice, were morally as guilty as he and should be stamped out like so many rattlesnakes.

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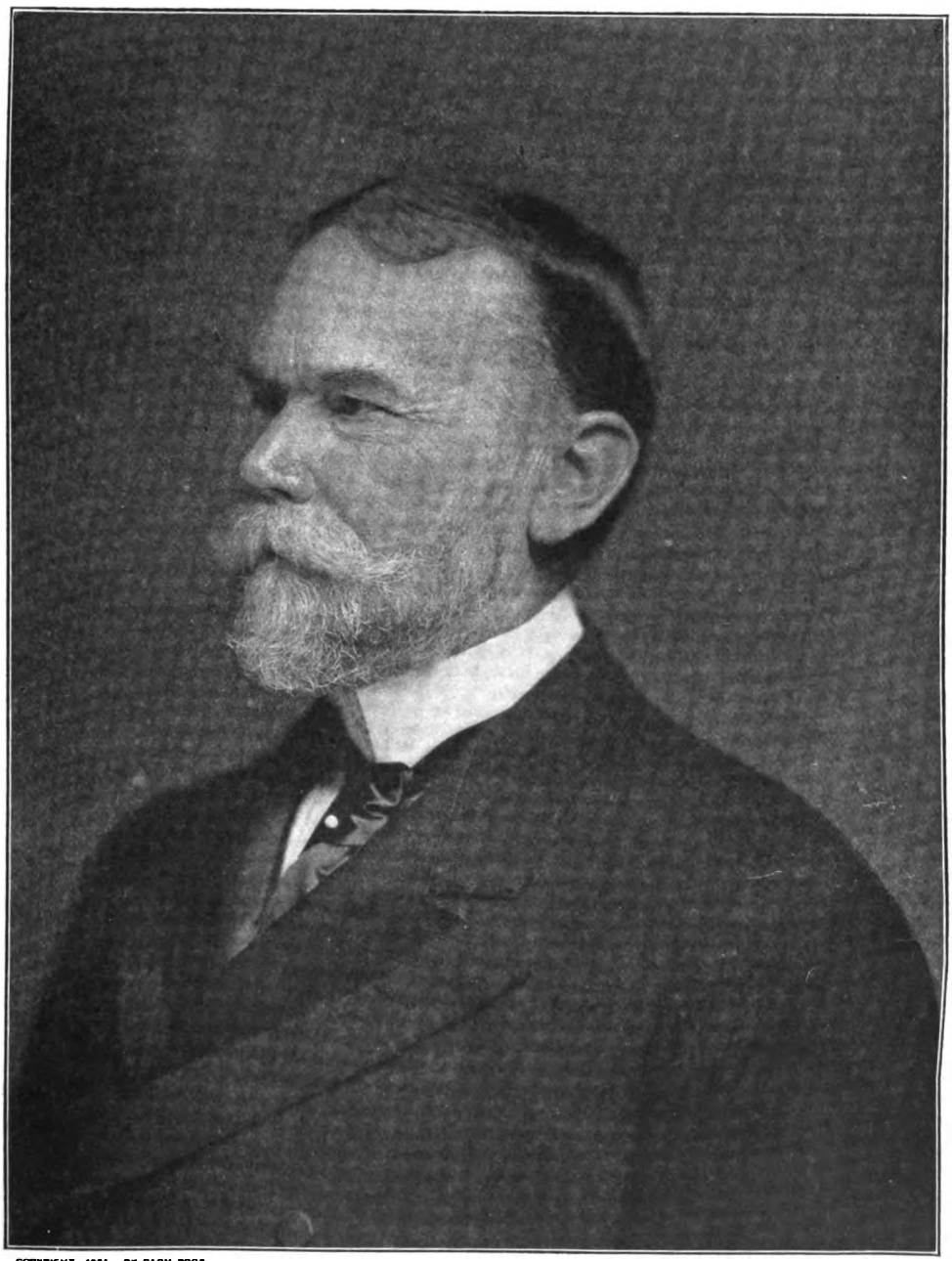

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JOHN HAY.

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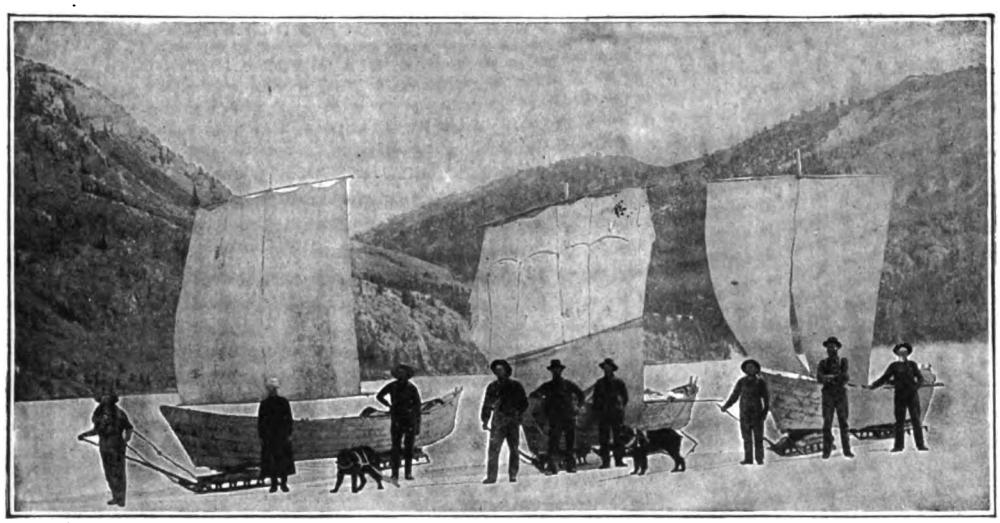
CHAPTER X.

ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION, 1901—GOLD DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTHWEST.

SO general was the belief that President McKinley would recover that Vice-President Roosevelt and others, who had been summoned to his bedside, went away again in high spirits. Roosevelt, who, as you know, is a great athlete and hunter, wandered off on an excursion into the forests of Northern New York, where it required considerable time and much trouble to reach him. He hastened back, one of the most sincere of mourners, and acted with excellent taste throughout all the sorrowful proceedings attending the burial of the dead President and his assumption of office as his successor. As in previous instances, the machinery of the government moved forward without the



CARRYING BOATS ON THE YUKON, KLONDIKE.

slightest jar or friction, and so far as outward appearances went nothing out of the usual order seemed to have occurred.

You need not be reminded that the Indian question has been one of the most difficult that the country has been obliged to confront from the beginning. The Dawes Commission, as it was termed, made an agreement with the representatives of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes, which pointed to a breaking up of the order of things that had long prevailed in the Indian Territory. By this agreement the tribal governments were permitted to continue until March 4, 1906, when they are to dissolve, and there is no doubt that the other tribes in the Territory will consent to the same arrangement.

In the early days of McKinley's first administration there was general excitement throughout the country over the reports of amazing gold finds in the Northwest.

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Naturally the reports were generally disbelieved or supposed to be greatly exaggerated, but it was soon established beyond question that immense deposits of gold existed along the banks of the Yukon River in Alaska. A number of veteran gold-hunters from California made their way thither with a few hundred dollars and came back with hundreds of thousands. In July, 1897, a party arrived at Seattle direct from the mouth of the Yukon, where they had been working in the Klondike placer-mining districts, and brought with them a full million dollars. The display of the rich finds in different cities started a rush to the Klondike like that to California a half century before.

If you will examine the map you will find that the Klondike is a branch of the mighty Yukon, and it is along the branches of the former stream that the rich deposits have been found. The first claim was staked at Bonanza Creek, one of these small tributaries, August 17, 1896, and within the following twelve months 400 claims were located and the camp grew to a population of more than 5,000. The most famous center was Dawson City, which was founded by an old resident named James Ladue, who built the first cabin and raised the American flag. The town is finely situated on the Yukon close to the mouth of the Klondike, and under the protection of the Canadian government it was free from disorder and lawlessness.

PROSPECTORS MOVING BOAT OVER CHILKOOT TRAIL, KLONDIKE.

It was inevitable that with such multitudes rushing to those distant gold regions there should be much suffering, for the hot summer lasts only four months and practically there is no spring or autumn. In the latter part of May the ice begins to break up in the rivers and navigation on the Yukon opens with the month of June. By the latter part of September it begins to grow cool and October brings winter weather, which is cold and dry, with some three or four feet of snow. About three inches of rain falls in the winter and barely a foot in the course of the year. In the depth of winter the cold is intense, sometimes reaching 60 degrees below zero in January and February, but the dryness of the atmosphere makes the weather less trying than would be supposed from the figures given.

The sufferings of the miners in the gold regions became so great during those bitterly cold winters that assistance had to be sent to save hundreds from starvation. Since then the routes have been improved by the building of short railway lines in the Chilkoot Pass region. It speedily became apparent that the Klondike valley was one of the richest placer districts of the world, since the precious metal appeared in coarse flakes and nuggets, with occasionally highly valuable pockets.

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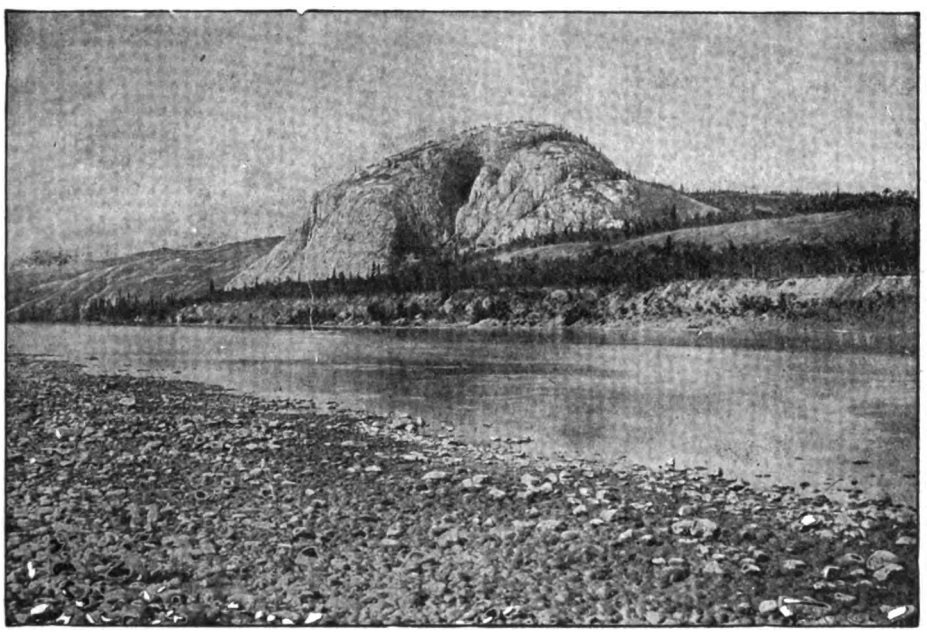
Perhaps you will be interested in learning the method of placer mining in the Klondike, for it differs from that pursued elsewhere. This is due to the fact that from a point about three feet below the surface the ground never thaws. When the first visitors tried to strip off the gravel down to the gold lying in its lower levels or under it the work was not only very slow and laborious, but it had to be carried on during the short summer. The miners build large fires over the surface which they wish to work, and keep them going for twenty-four hours. This melts and softens the gravel to the depth of some six inches. This is removed, the fire renewed, and the process kept up until the gold-bearing region is reached, which is usually at a depth of fifteen feet. When the shaft has penetrated thus far other fires are built at the bottom against the sides of the layer and tunnels are made in the same manner through the "pay-dirt" layer, which is perhaps five feet thick. Since blasting is useless against frozen earth the



"THE EAGLE'S NEST" ON THE LEWIS RIVER BELOW THE LITTLE SALMON, KLONDIKE.

material taken out is piled up to wait the coming of water in the spring, with which it is washed in rockers and sluices.

When the excitement over the Klondike had partially subsided it flamed up again at the announcement of fully as rich deposits at Cape Nome. By the latter part of June, 1900, two processions were steadily moving to and from the Cape Nome gold fields, the former led by high hopes and the latter composed of those whose hopes had vanished with their ill success and sufferings.

It was said that ninety-five per cent. of the money in Nome City had been taken there by the newcomers. The following prices at the eating houses are noteworthy: Three eggs, $1; cup of tea, with a little bread and butter and one or two canned pears, fifty cents; an alleged porterhouse steak, $3.00; three links of sausage, $1.00. A

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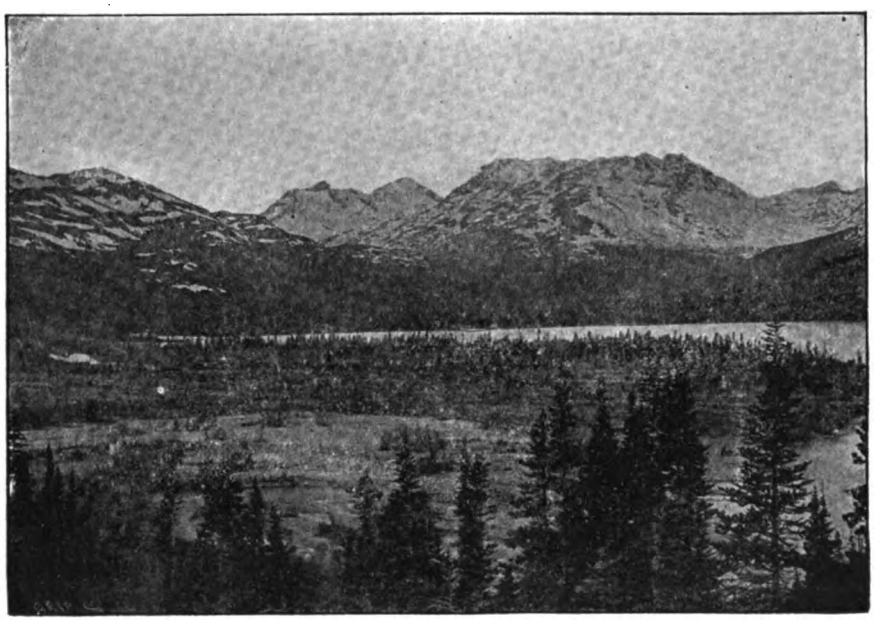
lodger was allowed a place to spread his blanket for $1.50 per night and a city lot, twenty-five by fifty-feet, was held at $23,000.

This was by no means the worst feature of a residence at Cape Nome. Being beyond the jurisdiction of the Canadian police, violence and crime became rampant. In July our War Department received advices from General Randall, dated Nome City, June 26, saying that at the request of the Nome Chamber of Commerce he had undertaken to protect life and property pending the establishment of municipal government under the recent act of Congress. He gave the population of the town as 16,000, though other estimates made it more than double that, but there was no effective civil organization, and until the proclamation of martial law no law at all by which criminals could be held in restraint and property protected.

During the season of 1902 a fleet of twenty steamers and sailing vessels were employed in the trade to Nome, with an aggregate freight capacity of 40,000 tons, and



LAKE LINDEMANN, KLONDIKE.

on their first trips they provided accommodations for 7,000 passengers. Every berth was engaged by the first week of March.

It would be supposed the presence of gold in large quantities was all that the most ardent fortune hunter could ask, but lo! letters reached Tacoma at the close of March reporting the discovery of genuine diamonds, from half a carat to one carat in weight, as having been found in placer deposits on tributaries of Golovin Bay, forty miles east of Cape Nome. The diamonds were found by miners while engaged in washing out gold and of course with no thought of anything of that nature. It should be said, however, that during the preceding summer Henry Hanks, formerly State mineralogist of California, discovered minute diamonds during a microscopical examination of the

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sands of Cape Nome and expressed the belief that diamonds of considerable size would be found in the country.

According to the census of 1890, the population of Alaska was 32,052, and in 1900, 63,592, an increase of almost double in ten years. C. C. Georgeson, special agent of the Agricultural Department, in charge of the experimental station at Sitka, expressed great confidence in the future of agriculture in the country. Grain, he declared, could be matured anywhere. He obtained samples of perfectly ripe barley, oats, wheat and rye from different points in the interior as far north as Eagle, all of which were matured and grown in 1900. With one exception they were volunteer products from seed accidentally scattered and grown wild. When Secretary Seward negotiated the purchase from Russia of Alaska for the sum of $7,200,000 there was no end of the ridicule of the transaction, which was declared to consist of the payment of a large sum of money for a quantity of "fogs and icebergs," but, counting the seal and fishing industries and the product of gold, it was certainly one of the best bargains ever made by the United States.

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CHAPTER XI.

ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION, 1901—CONTINUED—THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

THE project of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama is one of the most important that have engaged the attention of our government. We have only to glance at the map of the Western hemisphere to appreciate its measureless advantage to the commerce of all nations, and to none as much as to our own. In passing between the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards it will cut off the long voyage around South America, always attended with great danger, without mentioning the additional time required. Probably the most famous run ever made by a steamer was that of the *Oregon* at the opening of our war with Spain, when she left San Francisco and circled South America, arriving at Florida in time to take a foremost part in the destruction of Cervera's fleet before Santiago. How much time might have been saved had she been able to pass through an Isthmian canal, to say nothing of the possible peril she ran of encountering the whole Spanish fleet.

We have told you something in the preceding pages about the attempts of the French under the superintendence of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, the builder of the Suez Canal, to construct a similar means of communication across the Isthmus of Panama.

In order to understand the whole question, it is necessary to state that in 1850 John M. Clayton, our Secretary of State, and Henry Lytton Bulwer, English Minister at Washington, signed a treaty which forbade their respective countries to assume exclusive control of the ship canal contemplated, or to fortify it or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast or any part of Central America. The treaty stipulated further that in case of war between the two nations the respective vessels should be exempt from molestation; the parties engaged in building the canal should be protected; the two governments were to use their influence with other governments to facilitate its construction; the contracting parties should guarantee the neutrality of the canal, which should be forever open and free except under certain named conditions; other friendly Powers were invited to join on equal terms in the enterprise; a year was to be given to those engaged in constructing the canal to prove their ability to complete it, the same protection to be provided for the building of other practicable communication; and ratifications of the treaty were to be exchanged within six months from April 19, 1850.

Conditions were far different at that time than a generation or so later. The belief in 1850 was that the canal would be built without delay; but though it was intended for an international compact, the only Powers that signed it were Great Britain and the United States, nor was it generally thought important in this country at that time that the canal should be under our sole control. Not a spadeful of earth, however, was

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thrown up, and when the project was finally revived the interesting question arose as to whether the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was still in force, for, if it was conceded to be, then Great Britain possessed an unquestionable right to a share in the project. It might be that we should pay every dollar expended in the construction of the canal, and yet, if war should ever break out between Great Britain and us, we could not close or fortify it for our own protection.

For us it was contended that according to the best international authorities old treaties must always be interpreted on the ground of mutual obligations and equities. Since nearly half a century had gone by without the contemplated event which brought about the treaty—the building of the canal—taking place, its provisions were dead and had been so for a long time. Furthermore, only a minority of the Powers that it was intended should be parties to the compact had taken any action. Great Britain had disregarded the provisions of the treaty more than once, and both she and our foremost legal authorities agreed that for years nothing in the treaty forbade the United States constructing the Isthmian canal when she chose to do so.

At the beginning of 1900 both branches of Congress unanimously agreed that our government should build the canal with the least delay possible, title to the same being secured by cessions from Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The scheme treated the canal as a part of the navigable waters of the United States. The project was so beneficial to our country, so actually necessary, in fact, that the most captious could not find a peg upon which to hang an objection. All seemed plain sailing, when universal astonishment was caused by the announcement that Secretary of State Hay, on the part of the United States, and Lord Pauncefote, acting for Great Britain, had signed a treaty which forbade our government fortifying its own canal or using it in time of war for the very purpose contemplated in constructing it. This remarkable document provided that the United States should pay all the expenses involved in the construction of the great work, which, however, should be for the equal benefit of the commerce of all nations, and it should be neutralized by the guarantee of the principal commercial Powers of the world. To sum up, we were to build the canal and then hand it over to the political control of other nations, some of whom might become our bitterest enemies.

Can you wonder that an indignant protest was raised against this extraordinary action on the part of the Secretary of State? The first announcement of the provisions of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty was that it abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer compact, but the most that it did was to modify that obnoxious agreement. Thereby it was acknowledged that the latter retained its vitality and force, although the predecessors of Mr. Hay maintained that its binding character was destroyed by the repeated violation of its provisions by Great Britain. Every preventive of exclusive control in the old treaty was retained and in the event of war the ships of the enemy would be allowed to pass freely through the canal upon the payment of the legal tolls, and as to our own ships of war we should have to hold them back for a prescribed time while the vessels of the foe were ravaging our coasts.

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty forbade Great Britain to assume sovereignty over any of the Central American states. But, after the signing of the treaty, she obtained absolute

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sovereignty over Belize or British Honduras, and extended its boundaries by absorbing a good deal of surrounding territory. She had openly violated one of the principal provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and such action thereby released us from all its obligations. You will agree that there can be no questioning of such a decision. The condemnation of the new treaty was so earnest and universal that Congress, where the opposition was equally strong, could not refuse to act. The Committee on Foreign Relations prepared an amendment, which was immediately accepted and which gave the practical control of the canal to the United States.

Meanwhile, the Isthmian Canal Commission, appointed by the President a year before, with Rear Admiral Walker as chairman, presented its preliminary report. This was unanimously in favor of the canal, and of what is known as the Nicaraguan route. The commission examined and inspected every possible route, and took into consideration the advantages and disadvantages of each, the relative cost of construction at different points on the isthmus, the commercial and strategic values of the different routes, and the diplomatie situation as to the ownership and control of the canal by the United States.

The inspection of the different routes was followed by a consideration of the dimensions to be recommended for the canal. The steadily increasing size of ocean vessels led the commission to advise a depth of 35 feet at mean low water and a bottom width of 150 feet, with a double set of locks 740 feet long, 84 feet wide and 35 feet deep. Although these dimensions are greater than any heretofore considered, they were deemed necessary to meet conditions likely to present themselves in the course of ten years. The estimates would allow all except the very largest ships to pass each other in the canal, and the double set of locks would prevent delay when repairs were needed on one set.

The Nicaraguan route begins near Greytown on the Atlantic, follows the San Juan river, crosses Lake Nicaragua and ends at Brito on the Pacific, the total distance being 186 miles. The main engineering difficulty would be the immense dam across the San Juan river, which, it was estimated, would require eight years to build, with two years of preparatory work.

The total estimated cost of the work was $200,540,000, but if only single locks were used and the bottom narrowed by a third, it was believed the expense could be reduced to $163,913,000. The estimated cost of completing the Panama canal was $142,342,579, which, if single locks and the narrower bottom were employed, could be brought down to $115,941,215. The value of the work already done on the Panama route was given as $33,934,463. Compare this with the sum subscribed and paid in to the French scheme of M. de Lesseps and you will gain some idea of the colossal fraud and corruption that dominated that enterprise.

In conclusion, the report compared the advantages of the Nicaragua and Panama routes. The expense was set down as about the same in each case, for, although the cost of finishing the Panama canal was $58,000,000 less than that of building a canal through Nicaragua, it was believed that even if the Panama Canal Company should sell its property to the United States the price would not be such as to make the total cost much less than that of the Nicaragua canal.

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In respect of time, it was thought that the Nicaraguan route was somewhat more advantageous to the United States, in spite of the fact that as the Panama canal is considerably shorter and would have fewer locks and less curvature, it would therefore take a vessel only twelve hours to pass through it, against thirty-three hours through the Nicaragua canal. For this was more than balanced by the saving in time in the total journey from New York, New Orleans or Liverpool to San Francisco, as the distances to these points are respectively 377, 579 and 386 miles greater by way of Panama than by way of Nicaragua.

The diplomatic considerations were declared all in favor of Nicaragua. The governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica appear to be heartily ready to lend every aid to the construction of a canal through their territories by the United States, and have freed themselves from all obligations to any canal company that would interfere with such a project. On the other hand, Colombia was bound by a contract to the Panama Canal Company that had many years to run, so that an arrangement would have to be made with this company if the Panama route were adopted. The commission found the company unwilling to sell its franchise. The only concession it would make, apparently, was to allow the United States to purchase stock in the company. Such an arrangement as this was deemed inadmissible by the commission.

In view of all the facts, then, particularly of the diplomatic situation, the commission unanimously recommended the Nicaraguan route as "the most practical and feasible route for a canal under the control, ownership and management of the United States."

On March 4, 1901, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty expired by limitation, the British government having failed to signify its acceptance of the amendments made by the Senate to the original draft. The reply was handed to Secretary Hay on March 11 and made public two weeks later. The tone was strongly friendly and Lord Lansdowne expressed the sincere regret his government would feel at the failure to reach an agreement on the question, and intimated that it would welcome another attempt to secure an understanding, the initiative of which would have to come, of course, from the United States.

Regarding the amendment which declared the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, Lord Lansdowne regarded it as too far-reaching a step to be taken by the United States without consulting British views on the matter. The treaty was declared to be an international contract of unquestionable validity, one which, according to well-established international usage, ought not to be abrogated or modified, save with the consent of both parties to the contract.

More importance was attached to the other two amendments, one of which reserved to the United States the right to take such measures as it might deem necessary for its defense. This was regarded as a distinct departure from the principle heretofore agreed to by both governments, of the complete neutralization of the canal in time of war as well as of peace. It was pronounced a one-sided arrangement unfavorable to Great Britain. It was also pointed out that there was no analogy between the Davis amendment and the tenth article of the Suez Canal Convention, as had been claimed, since the sovereign of the territory through which the Suez canal runs was a party to the convention,

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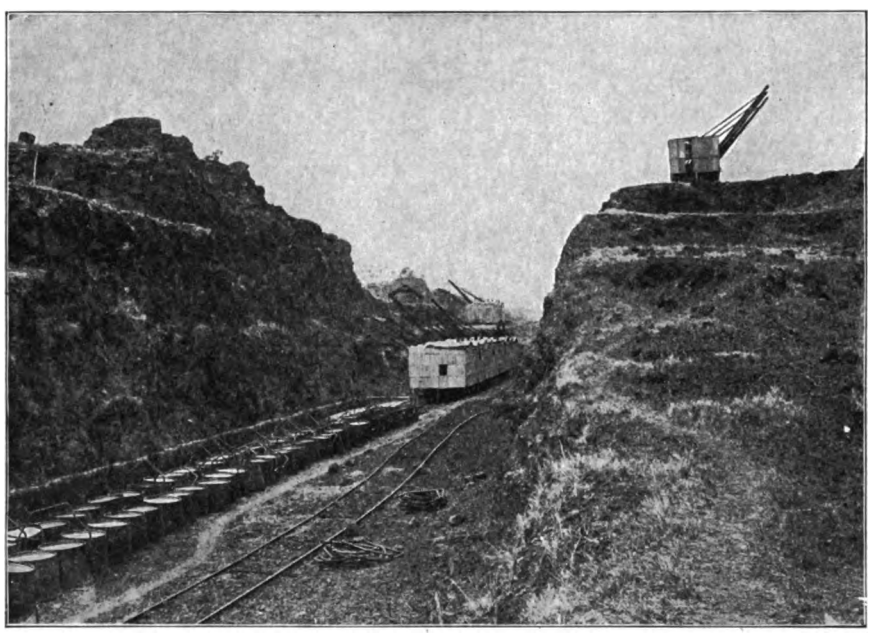
whose established interests it was necessary to protect, whereas the "Nicaragua canal will be constructed in territory belonging not to the United States, but to Central American States, of whose sovereign rights other powers cannot claim to dispose."

Objection was made to the third amendment, which strikes out the provision that invited the adherence of the other powers to the treaty, on the ground that the neutrality of the canal cannot be secured by the guarantee of the two contracting powers alone, and that it would place Great Britain "in a position of marked disadvantage compared with other powers."

Thus the Hay-Pauncefote treaty passed out of whatever existence it ever had. Great Britain, as has been shown, had expressed a readiness to welcome any new proposition from us on the question, and the President and Secretary of State set to work to



A CUT IN THE CORDILLERAS, PANAMA CANAL.

learn what conditions were necessary in a canal treaty to secure the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate. They discussed the question with leading Senators and prominent members of both parties. Secretary Hay had several interviews also with Lord Pauncefote, in order to ascertain the British views on the subject. On May 6 it was announced that the draft of a new treaty had been submitted to Lord Pauncefote.

A probable result of the report of the Walker Commission, which "turned down" the Panama route, was the definite offer of the Panama Canal Company, made with the approval of the Colombian government, to sell its property to the United States. This proposition was submitted to Admiral Walker, May 6, by Dr. Martinez Silva, Colombian Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had been in Washington for some time and offered to submit the question of terms to a board of three appraisers, whose decision would be

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accepted as final. This board was to be made up of an appraiser appointed by the United States, one by the company, while the two were to select a third.

This unexpected offer, in connection with a proposition made a few weeks before, on behalf of the Colombian government to grant to the United States a ninety-nine years' lease of the territory through which the canal would pass, in consideration of certain financial compensations, gave a wholly new aspect to the canal question.

The new convention between the United States and Great Britain was presented to Congress when it met in December. It superseded the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and in it the neutrality of the canal was guaranteed, but by the United States alone, while the right of our government to fortify the canal was acknowledged. Thus it will be seen that all the rights ever claimed by us with regard to the use or control of this waterway were recognized. In short, everything for which we had been contending was granted.

Satisfaction in this country was unbounded, but it was too much to expect the same feeling in Great Britain. "Englishmen will be startled to learn," said the London *Chronicle*, "that we have abandoned our rights under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and surrendered every disputed point without any compensation. The new treaty is apparently another instance of Lord Salisbury's placid indifference and Lord Lansdowne's impulsive generosity. It is said that President Roosevelt will recommend its adoption to the Senate. Doubtless Great Britain will agree to it. Although it gives us nothing at all, it will have the advantage of getting rid of all our outstanding grievances with the United States."

The great difficulties removed and the construction of the Isthmian canal being accepted as one of the certainties of the future, the next problem to engage public interest was as to which route should be taken, Nicaragua or Panama. There were good reasons given for and against both. The report of the commission appointed by Congress favored the Nicaragua route with locks in preference to the sea-level canal. Leaving out of consideration the question of cost, it was said that the Nicaragua line could be completed in one-half the time required by that of Panama. Moreover, the Nicaragua canal would have in Lake Nicaragua an exhaustless natural supply of water on the Pacific side of the continental divide, while the Panama scheme involves much engineering work on Lake Bohio in order to make of it a reservoir of sufficient strength and capacity. As to the Atlantic side, there is little difference between the two as regards water supply.

The Nicaragua route has no natural harbors at either end, but they can be constructed at moderate cost. At Panama, however, there is an excellent harbor protected by islands and no work is necessary for either harbor construction or maintenance. There is a good harbor at Colon on the Atlantic side, though it is often swept by severe north winds. Considerable work would be necessary to make the harbor safe at all times for vessels.

The Panama route, in the judgment of the Commission, could not be completed in less than ten years, while not more than six would be required to finish the Nicaragua line if work was properly pushed. The total length of this line is 183.66 and of the Panama 49.09 miles. The length of the canal, including channels and entrances to har-

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bor on the Nicaragua route, is 73.78 miles, to which are to be added 39.37 miles for the canalized San Juan river, and a sailing line of 70.51 miles on Lake Nicaragua. The length of the canal on the Panama route is 36.41 miles, with 12.68 miles of sailing on Lake Bohio. The annual cost of operating the Nicaragua Canal would be $1,350,000 greater than the Panama. The passage through the latter could be made by a deep-draft vessel in 12 hours and through the former in 33 hours. The cost of constructing a canal by the Nicaragua route and of completing the Panama canal, excluding the cost of acquiring the concessions from the different governments, was estimated to be for the former $189,864,062, and for the Panama, $144,233,358.

As we have said, the discussion over the two routes was warm and earnest, public sentiment being pretty evenly divided. An unexpected and startling argument in favor of the Panama route was furnished by the awful volcanic outburst in the island of Martinique in May, 1902, by which so many thousands of lives were destroyed. Men who were well acquainted with Central America declared that the Nicaraguan region, when compared with Panama, is exposed to ten times the peril from volcanoes and that the fearful cloud would always hang over the canal, which, in the space of a few minutes, could be utterly destroyed and the labor of ten years blotted out as if had never been. Something of the same danger must threaten Panama and all that region, but it is maintained to be far greater in the more northern route.

On December 9, 1901, Dr. Fernando Sanchez, Nicaraguan Minister of Foreign Affairs, and William L. Merry, United States Minister to Nicaragua, Salvador and Costa Rica, signed a treaty by which Nicaragua agreed to lease perpetually to the United States a section of Nicaraguan territory six miles wide, in which was included the route of the proposed Nicaraguan canal. A few days later these officials signed a protocol for a treaty which provided for the admission into Nicaragua, free of duty, of flour, wines under fourteen degrees, fruits, fresh and dried, and preserved products from the United States.

On January 4, 1902, the Panama Canal Company made a formal proposition to sell the canal to the United States government for $40,000,000, the value to be determined by the Isthmian Canal Commission. The belief was that Admiral Walker, head of that Commission, would advise Congress to accept the offer, but there was a strong support of the Hepburn bill in the House, which aimed to commit the government to the choice of the Nicaragua route.

As soon as the Commission received the tender of the Panama Company they began the preparation of a supplemental report, and the President, on January 20, 1902, laid the document before Congress. It was found that the Commission unanimously recommended the acceptance of the offer made by the Panama Canal Company. The cost of constructing the Nicaragua canal was placed at $45,630.704 in excess of completing the Panama, with an annual expense of $1,300,000 greater at Nicaragua than at Panama. Despite this, the Hepburn bill received a vote in the House of 308 to 2—practically unanimous. It was developed that if the United States purchased the rights and properties of the French Panama Canal Company, it would not secure the sovereign control of the strip of territory through which the route runs. The Colombian Minister at

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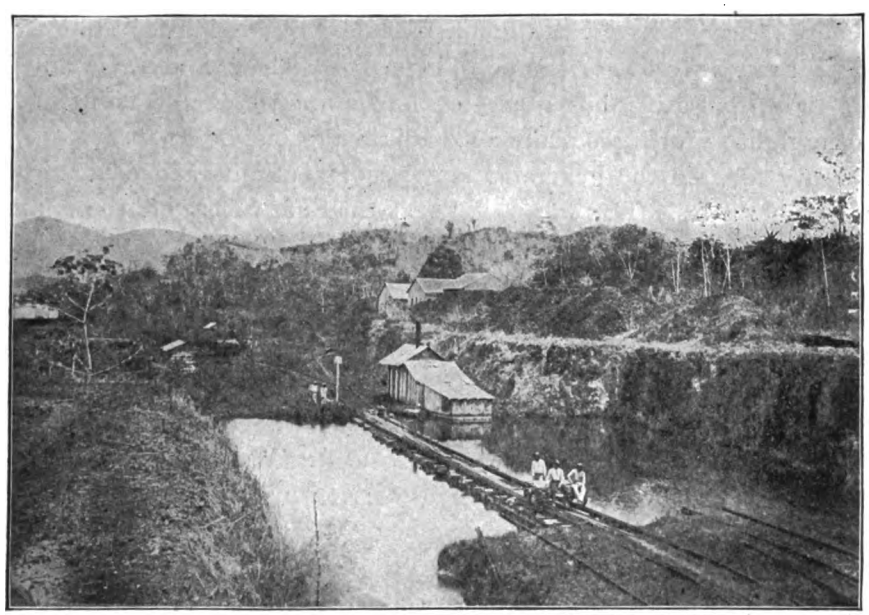
Washington, Señor Silva, in a letter to Rear Admiral Walker, President of the Isthmian Canal Commission, stated that the United States would have "actual but not sovereign control" over the strip of territory, five miles wide, for which the United States must pay an annual rental to compensate for certain losses caused by the sale. Colombia would rent the land on a two-hundred-year lease, with the right of renewal. The constitution of Columbia forbids the transfer of land in sovereignty.

On March 31 Señor Concha delivered to Secretary Hay a definite protocol setting forth the terms under which Colombia was ready to concede the rights necessary for the construction of the Isthmian canal. Definite consent was given to the sale of the entire rights of the new Panama Canal Company to the United States for $40,000,000. It was understood that the protocol included adequate provisions for the completion, maintenance, operation, control and protection of a Panama canal by our government. The



A SECTION OF THE PANAMA CANAL AS IT LOOKED IN 1905.

city of Panama, which practically is the State of Panama, was excluded from United States sovereignty.

Meanwhile there was careful study of the provisions of the new Hay-Pauncefote treaty, which impressed some as too generous in its terms on the part of Great Britain to mean all that it seemed to say. When the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty was up for consideration, President Roosevelt said:

"I most sincerely hope that the pending treaty concerning the Isthmian canal will not be ratified unless amended so as to provide that the canal when built shall be wholly under the control of the United States alike in peace and war. This seems to me vital, no less from the standpoint of our sea power than from the standpoint of the Monroe doctrine."

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The fact that the President transmitted the treaty to the Senate was proof that he believed it complied with his views. Since it superseded the Clayton-Bulwer treaty it necessarily abrogated that instrument and formally released us from certain restrictions on our right of free action in Central America, which had been unwisely incurred a half century before. Further, it wholly eliminated the policy of a joint guarantee of the neutrality of the canal, either with Great Britain or with all of the maritime powers who decided to become parties to the agreement. By making the United States solely responsible for the neutrality of the canal our government became the sole judge of what constituted any infraction of that neutrality. The new treaty also omitted the former explicit prohibition of the fortification of the canal and adjacent waters.

All these features were of vast and far-reaching value to the United States, but a close study of the instrument raised some questions as to the actual scope and meaning of certain of the terms. Thus, while the prohibition against fortifications was removed, the text failed clearly to recognize the inherent right of the United States to fortify its own canal, if it saw fit to do so. Some will contend that the absence of any prohibition means the right to fortify, but others could maintain that the failure to recognize expressly the right to fortify is really a prohibition against doing so.

The treaty adopted the general principles of neutrality and equal privileges contained in the Suez rules. This was well, but if the Suez rules were to be interpreted as applying to this nation and to its adversary in time of war, then it was clear that the treaty did not provide for the American ideal of a canal.

A new article stipulated that no change of sovereignty or of the international relations of the countries traversed by the canal should affect the general principle of neutralization or the obligations of the United States under the present treaty. Regarding this the N. Y. *Sun* asked: "Exactly what does this mean? Does it mean, for example, that if what is now Nicaragua and what is now Costa Rica should by any chance come, fifty or a hundred years hence, under the sovereignty of the United States, we should be obliged then, and for all future time, to hold open a waterway through our own territory for the battleships of any nation at war with us? The idea is incomprehensible. No nation on the face of the earth would agree to turn its own property and its own territory into means and a channel of vantage for an attacking enemy."

In May, 1902, Secretary Hay sent to Chairman Morgan of the Senate Committee on Interoceanic Canal and to Chairman Hepburn of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce copies of the projected treaties with Colombia and Nicaragua respecting the construction of an Isthmian canal, including the correspondence relating thereto. No definite proposition had been received from the government of Costa Rica, but its minister stated that his government was ready to enter into a satisfactory arrangement with that of the United States, but before doing so it would be necessary for his government to adopt a constitutional amendment authorizing the necessary concessions or to have the matter referred to public opinion in some other way. These steps would undoubtedly be settled as soon as our Congress decided upon the route of the canal. Secretary Hay expressed the hope that the information thus conveyed would be of help in deciding upon the route, and he added that the President earnestly hoped there

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would be no more delay than was unavoidable in entering upon this great work, which is so important and beneficent to this country and the world. The treaty of Colombia as submitted provided:

(1) That the Government of Colombia authorizes the new Panama Canal Company to sell its rights to the United States.

(2) The United States shall have the exclusive right to construct and operate the canal.

(3) The United States shall have a zone five kilometres wide for the canal, for a period of 100 years, with the privilege of renewal, the zone to be neutral territory guaranteed by the United States, a joint commission created by the United States and Colombia to enforce sanitary and police regulations.

(4) The sovereignty of Colombia to be maintained over the territory of the canal.

(5) Lighthouses, ports and other aids to navigation to be constructed by the United States, also hospitals, and necessary aqueducts and drainage works in Panama and Colon.

(6) Colombia will not cede or lease to any foreign government any of its islands or its harbors that might interfere with the use or the safety of the canal, and to enable Colombia to carry out this stipulation the United States shall give to Colombia the material support that may be necessary.

(7) Damages arising from the construction of the canal shall be appraised by a joint commission, to be paid by the United States alone.

(8) The ports at either end of the canal shall be free, and dues in the canal equal for all nations.

(9) No taxes shall be imposed on the property used in constructing the canal.

(10) The canal shall be neutral in perpetuity.

(11) Forces necessary to protect the canal shall be provided by Colombia, but if she cannot effectively do so she may call on the United States to do so.

(12) The United States shall begin work on the canal in two years after the exchange of ratifications of the treaty.

(13) For the privileges granted the United States shall pay Colombia $7,000,000, and after fourteen years a reasonable annuity, to be fixed by arbitration if necessary.

(14) This concession shall lapse if in five years the United States shall not have begun the construction of the canal nor completed it within the period allowed (twenty-four years).

The treaty with Nicaragua provided:

(1) Nicaragua leases in perpetuity to the United States the exclusive right to build and operate a canal through its territory, and the United States shall guarantee the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Nicaragua.

(2) A strip three miles on each side of the route selected shall be known as the canal district, and areas of lands and waters within that district shall pass into the possession, use and control of the United States without cost or charge. Damages arising from the building of the canal shall be ascertained by a joint commission and their awards shall be paid by the United States.

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(3) The sovereignty of Nicaragua shall continue over the canal district, but the United States may enforce peace and order by the use of its forces.

(4) Free ports shall be established at the terminals of the canal and no discrimination shall be made as to tolls.

(5) The canal shall be opened to all nations, shall never be blockaded, war vessels of a belligerent shall not remain in the canal more than twenty-four hours, shall not revictual in the canal, nor shall a belligerent disembark troops or munitions of war in the canal.

(6) The United States shall pay and discharge Nicaragua from all liability on account of claims of citizens of the United States arising prior to the signing of the treaty.

(7) The United States shall pay $6,000,000 and an annual rental of $25,000 as compensation for the privileges granted.

It will be seen from the foregoing that this important matter has been so fully discussed that there is no excuse for any one not being fully informed as to every aspect of it. It seems strange that, with the measureless advantages of an interoceanic canal plain to every one, our country should have allowed so many years to pass without taking a decisive step toward its construction. Our government has spent millions upon millions of dollars in public improvements, a vast number of which were of no use at all, but were made more to satisfy the clamor in certain sections, and which, it must also be added, were too often based upon supposed political advantages expected to result therefrom, and yet this world's natural pathway has been allowed to remain choked and unavailable, when with the wealth at our command it ought to have been cleared more than a generation ago.

The arguments in favor of each route have been given. We have referred to the peril which it was claimed by the friends of the Panama route would always impend over the other. Relating to this, it has been stated that Admiral Walker, President of the Isthmian Canal Commission, and who strongly favored the Panama course, made the remark that it was not a question of earthquakes but of proximity of volcanoes. "One route has volcanoes and the other has not. Which is safe?" The course through Nicaragua leads under the shadow of Omotepe, a volcano capable at any time and without previous warning, of repeating the appalling work of Mont Pelée in Martinique and destroying in the twinkling of an eye a work that required a score of years in construction and involved the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars.

It may be added that Lord Pauncefote, who was so prominently identified with the treaty which opened the way for the construction of the Isthmian canal and who was held in high esteem by the whole American nation, died in Washington on May 24, 1902.

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CHAPTER XII.

ROOSEVELT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1901–1904—CONTINUED—THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS ON QUESTIONS OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE.

WHEN by the Constitution of the United States Theodore Roosevelt became president, he announced that his aim would be to carry out in spirit and letter the policy of his lamented predecessor. This seemed appropriate and was pleasing to the friends of both, for, having been elected upon the same platform, his course could not well be otherwise.

You may recall that when William Henry Harrison died in 1841 he was succeeded by John Tyler, the vice-president, such succession being the first of that nature in the history of our country. It soon became clear that Tyler intended to follow a course that was distasteful in the highest degree to the Whigs. They tried to check him by having it declared that the constitutional duty of a vice-president succeeding to the chief magistracy was to follow the policy of the president whom he succeeded,—that he was his heir, so to speak, and the Constitution did not permit him to do otherwise than to act as his predecessor would have acted had he lived.

This view of the question, however, was untenable. When a man becomes the constitutional president of the United States, no matter by what means, he is as much the chief executive as if he had been duly elected, and is therefore free to adopt what views he believes to be just and for the best interests of his country. President Roosevelt was honest and patriotic, personally brave, an athlete, impetuous and cultured. He assumed his high office with the best wishes of everyone. But some of those who admired his character feared that what might be called his virtues would lead him into error,—that his impatience with trickery, dishonesty, and the oily ways of the politician might cause him to commit some blunder. But when such a man assumes the responsibilities of one of the most exalted offices on the face of the earth, he feels its gravity and is sure to rise to its vast requirements. President Roosevelt remained as fearless and outspoken, but he was also thoughtful and deliberate, and counseled with the wisest of advisers before taking any step or adopting any course of action upon an important public measure.

You will understand, therefore, the profound interest with which all citizens read the first annual message of President Roosevelt. No such interest could attach to the succeeding messages, for they would necessarily be in a line with the first and would be a continuance of the same policy. Some thought that under the spur of grief and indignation over the death of President McKinley his successor had spoken too impulsively of his intention of following in his footsteps, and that he might in his cooler moments deviate from the path he had thus laid out for himself.

But his first annual message to Congress would be the deliberate expression of his

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policy. He would weigh every sentence before putting it on paper, and when it went before the nation, that nation could count upon his fulfillment of every pledge to the utmost of his ability. What was there promised would be done, subject only to such interference as might be interposed by Providence. Since, too, the line thus marked out would be adhered to for nearly a full presidential term, and would therefore be the policy of the country itself, it is proper that we should analyze the most important points in President Roosevelt's first message which was sent to Congress December 3, 1901.

Naturally it opened with an eloquent tribute to McKinley, and the man who is an adept in the use of the pen never expressed himself more impressively; but all this was to be expected and need not be referred to further. The assassination of the President roused the country to appreciation of the almost criminal carelessness of our government in allowing foreign nations to deport to our shores the most savage miscreants that ever committed cold-blooded murder. They are landed in our seaport cities, and begin at once to spread the deadly poison of their views, which permeates society and inevitably results in crimes that shock the civilized world. These wretches ought to be stamped out with no greater mercy than would be shown to a rattlesnake coiled in our path. Unless this is done, more assassination in high places will follow, just as certainly as effect follows cause. Formerly our president went and came with the same safety against personal harm that is enjoyed by an ordinary citizen. Now the Chief Executive dare not make a journey from Washington to Baltimore without being accompanied by detectives, and, as was shown in the case of President McKinley, even this safeguard did not prove sufficient. Here is what President Roosevelt had to say on the all-important subject:

"When we turn from the man to the nation, the harm done is so great as to excite our gravest apprehensions and to demand our wisest and most resolute action. This criminal was a professed anarchist, inflamed by the teachings of professed anarchists, and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they cannot escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism, and to the crude and foolish visionary who, for whatever reason, apologizes for crime or excites aimless discontent.

"The blow was aimed not at this president, but at all presidents; at every symbol of government. President McKinley was as emphatically the embodiment of the popular will of the nation expressed through the forms of law as a New England town meeting is in similar fashion the embodiment of the law-abiding purpose and practice of the people of the town. On no conceivable theory could the murder of the president be accepted as due to protest against 'inequalities in the social order,' save as the murder of all the freemen engaged in a town meeting could be accepted as a protest against that social inequality which puts a malefactor in jail. Anarchy is no more an expression of 'social discontent' than picking pockets or wife-beating.

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"The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy directly or indirectly, in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds, makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for workingmen is outrageous in its impudent falsity; for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil, then the door of hope is forever closed against him. The anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism.

"For the anarchist himself, whether he preaches or practices his doctrines, we need not have one particle more concern than for any ordinary murderer. He is not the victim of social or political injustice. There are no wrongs to remedy in his case. The cause of his criminality is to be found in his own evil passions and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the state to do justice to him or his. He is a malefactor and nothing else. He is in no sense, in no shape or way, a 'product of social conditions,' save as a highwayman is 'produced' by the fact that an unarmed man happens to have a purse.

"It is a travesty upon the great and holy names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or body of men preaching anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchistic speeches, writings, and meetings are essentially seditious and treasonable.

"I earnestly recommend to the Congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of anarchists or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as those who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime, and the law should insure their rigorous punishment. They and those like them should be kept out of this country; and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came; and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the Congress.

"The federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the president or any man who by the constitution or by law is in line of succession for the presidency, while the punishment for an unsuccessful attempt should be proportioned to the enormity of the offense against our institutions.

"Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race, and all mankind should band against the anarchist. His crime should be made an offense against the law of nations, like piracy and that form of man-stealing known as the slave trade, for it is of far blacker infamy than either. It should be so declared by treaties among all civilized powers. Such treaties would give to the federal government the power of dealing with the crime.

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"A grim commentary upon the folly of the anarchist position was afforded by the attitude of the law toward this very criminal who had just taken the life of the president. The people would have torn him limb from limb if it had not been that the law he defied was at once invoked in his behalf. So far from his deed being committed on behalf of the people against the government, the government was obliged at once to exert its full police power to save him from instant death at the hands of the people. Moreover, his deed worked not the slightest dislocation in our governmental system, and the danger of a recurrence of such deeds, no matter how great it might grow, would work only in the direction of strengthening and giving harshness to the forces of order.

"No man will ever be restrained from becoming president by any fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the president's life became great, it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder. This great country will not fall into anarchy, and if anarchists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions, they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their own ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame."

One of the most serious of all problems now confronting us is the rapid growth of corporations, and the stupendous aggregations of wealth in the form of trusts. While these have brought certain advantages to the community, it cannot be denied that the disadvantages and burdens imposed have been of the gravest nature, as when, in the spring and summer of 1902, the price of beef rose to a figure never before seen since war times. Then, too, coal, one of the necessaries of life, rapidly increased in cost, because of the immense strike in the mining regions, by which many thousands were thrown out of employment. The idle employees and their families not only suffered great distress and privations, but the baneful effect was felt by the entire nation. How are such strikes to be averted is another problem that perplexes the whole community. The United States has been cursed by these periodical labor disturbances, and no remedy is seen in the immediate future.

Arbitration is the natural cure that has been suggested, but that does not meet the difficulty. The sad truth about the great coal strike referred to is that when the dispute was submitted to arbitrators and the decision was rendered, the men affected refused to be bound by the decision. They were determined to strike and nothing could prevent them except a full yielding to their demands by the capitalists.

No one can question the right of any body of men to stop work whenever they choose to do so, nor can their right to try to convince others to join them be questioned; but when they resort to violence, destroy property, and assault the men hired to take their places, they commit flagrant violations of the law. The result is that a number of leaders are arrested, tried, convicted, and punished. Strict laws are made against all acts of disorder, and yet the fact remains that no matter how severe the laws, nor how often their penalty is inflicted, the same scenes are repeated with every strike of considerable proportions.

On the other hand, the capitalists and employers have their legal rights, and when

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they demand protection, as they are clearly justified in doing, such protection must be given them, even though it involves the firing by troops upon the mobs, bloodshed and death, which, as is generally the rule, fall upon innocent ones. If someone can devise a sure method of averting labor strikes, with all their attendant evils, he will do his country a service whose value is beyond measure. President Roosevelt thus expressed his views on this great question:

"If the hand of the Lord is heavy upon any country, if flood or drought comes, human wisdom is powerless to avert the calamity. Moreover, no law can guard us against the consequences of our own folly. The men who are idle or credulous, the men who seek gains, not by genuine work with head or hand, but by gambling in any form, are always a source of menace, not only to themselves, but to others. If the business world loses its head, it loses what legislation cannot supply. Fundamentally, the welfare of each citizen, and therefore the welfare of the aggregate of citizens, which

GROUP OF COAL MINERS. PHOTOGRAPHED IN THE MINE.

makes the nation, must rest upon individual thrift and energy, resolution and intelligence. Nothing can take the place of this individual capacity; but wise legislation and honest and intelligent administration can give it the fullest scope, the largest opportunity to work to good effect.

"The tremendous and highly complex industrial development which went on with ever accelerated rapidity during the latter half of the nineteenth century brings us face to face at the beginning of the twentieth, with very serious social problems. The old laws, and the old customs which had almost the binding force of law, were once quite sufficient to regulate the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Since the industrial

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changes which have so enormously increased the productive power of mankind, they are no longer sufficient.

"The growth of cities has gone on beyond comparison faster than the growth of the country, and the upbuilding of the great industrial centers has meant a startling increase, not merely in the aggregate of wealth, but in the number of very large individual, and especially of very large corporate, fortunes. The creation of these great corporate fortunes has not been due to the tariff nor to any other governmental action, but to natural causes in the business world, operating in other countries as they operate in our own.

"The process has aroused much antagonism, a great part of which is wholly without warrant. It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wage-worker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at the present time. There have been abuses connected with the accumulation of wealth; yet it remains true that a fortune accumulated in legitimate business can be accumulated by the person specially benefited only on condition of conferring immense incidental benefits upon others. Successful enterprise, of the type which benefits all mankind, can only exist if the conditions are such as to offer great prizes as the rewards of success.

"The captains of industry who have driven the railway systems across this continent, who have built up our commerce, who have developed our manufactures, have on the whole done great good to our people. Without them the material development of which we are so justly proud could never have taken place. Moreover, we should recognize the immense importance to this material development of leaving as unhampered as is compatible with the public good the strong and forceful men upon whom the success of business operations inevitably rests. The slightest study of business conditions will satisfy anyone capable of forming a judgment that the personal equation is the most important factor in a business operation; that the business ability of the man at the head of any business concern, big or little, is usually the factor which fixes the gulf between striking success and hopeless failure.

"An additional reason for caution in dealing with corporations is to be found in the international commercial conditions of to-day. The same business conditions which have produced the great aggregations of corporate and individual wealth have made them very potent factors in international commercial competition. Business concerns which have the largest means at their disposal and are managed by the ablest men are naturally those which take the lead in the strife for commercial supremacy among the nations of the world. America has only just begun to assume that commanding position in the international business world which we believe will more and more be hers. It is of the utmost importance that this position be not jeoparded, especially at a time when the overflowing abundance of our own natural resources and the skill, business energy, and mechanical aptitude of our people make foreign markets essential. Under such conditions it would be most unwise to cramp or to fetter the youthful strength of our nation.

"Moreover, it cannot too often be pointed out that to strike with ignorant violence

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at the interests of one set of men almost inevitably endangers the interests of all. The fundamental rule in our national life—the rule which underlies all others—is that, on the whole, and in the long run, we shall go up or down together. There are exceptions, and in times of prosperity some will prosper far more, and in times of adversity some will suffer far more, than others; but speaking generally, a period of good times means that all share more or less in them, and in a period of hard times all feel the stress to a greater or less degree. It surely ought not to be necessary to enter into any proof of this statement; the memory of the lean years which began in 1893 is still vivid, and we can contrast them with the conditions in this very year which is now closing. Disaster to great business enterprises can never have its effects limited to the men at the top. It spreads throughout, and while it is bad for everybody, it is worst for those furthest down. The capitalist may be shorn of his luxuries; but the wage-worker may be deprived of even bare necessities.

"The mechanism of modern business is so delicate that extreme care must be taken not to interfere with it in a spirit of rashness or ignorance. Many of those who have made it their vocation to denounce the great industrial combinations which are popularly, although with technical inaccuracy, known as 'trusts,' appeal especially to hatred and fear. These are precisely the two emotions, particularly when combined with ignorance, which unfit men for the exercise of cool and steady judgment. In facing new industrial conditions, the whole history of the world shows that legislation will generally be both unwise and ineffective unless undertaken after calm inquiry and with sober self-restraint. Much of the legislation directed at the trusts would have been exceedingly mischievous had it not also been entirely ineffective.

"In accordance with a well-known sociological law, the ignorant or reckless agitator has been the really effective friend of the evils which he has been nominally opposing. In dealing with business interests, for the government to undertake by crude and ill-considered legislation to do what may turn out to be bad, would be to incur the risk of such far-reaching national disaster that it would be preferable to undertake nothing at all. The men who demand the impossible or the undesirable serve as the allies of the forces with which they are nominally at war, for they hamper those who would endeavor to find out in rational fashion what the wrongs really are and to what extent and in what manner it is practicable to apply remedies.

"All this is true, and yet it is also true that there are real and grave evils, one of the chief being over-capitalization, because of its many baleful consequences; and a resolute and practical effort must be made to correct these evils.

"There is a widespread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations known as trusts are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. This springs from no spirit of envy or uncharitableness, nor lack of pride in the great industrial achievements that have placed this country at the head of the nations struggling for commercial supremacy. It does not rest upon a lack of intelligent appreciation of the necessity of meeting changing and changed conditions of trade with new methods, nor upon ignorance of the fact that combination of capital in the effort to accomplish great things is necessary when the world's progress demands

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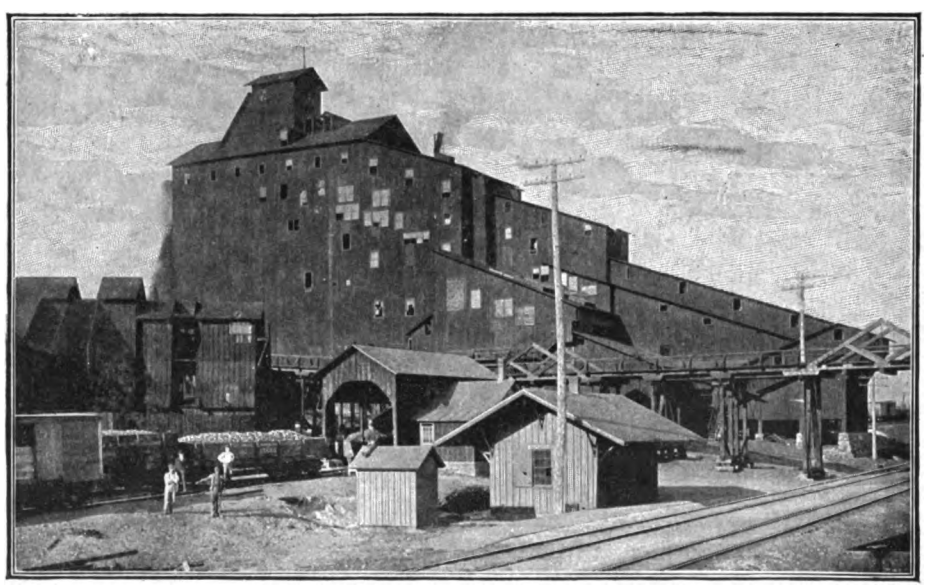
that great things be done. It is based upon sincere conviction that combination and concentration should be, not prohibited, but supervised and within reasonable limits controlled; and in my judgment this conviction is right.

"It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their enterprises the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested. Corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek for social betterment to rid the business world of crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence. Great corporations exist only because they are created and safeguarded by our institutions; and it is therefore our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions.

"The first essential in determining how to deal with the great industrial combinations is knowledge of the facts—publicity. In the interest of the public, the govern-



A COAL BREAKER.

ment should have the right to inspect and examine the workings of the great corporations engaged in interstate business. Publicity is the only sure remedy which we can now invoke. What further remedies are needed in the way of governmental regulation, or taxation, can only be determined after publicity has been obtained, by process of law, and in the course of administration. The first requisite is knowledge, full and complete —knowledge which may be made public to the world.

"Artificial bodies, such as corporations and joint stock or other associations, depending upon statutory law for their existence or privileges, should be subject to

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proper governmental supervision, and full and accurate information as to their operations should be made public regularly at reasonable intervals.

"The large corporations, commonly called trusts, though organized in one State, always do business in many States, often doing very little business in the State where they are incorporated. There is utter lack of uniformity in the State laws about them; and as no State has any exclusive interest in or power over their acts, it has in practice proved impossible to get adequate regulation through State action. Therefore, in the interest of the whole people, the nation should, without interfering with the power of the States in the matter itself, also assume power of supervision and regulation over all corporations doing an interstate business. This is especially true where the corporation derives a portion of its wealth from the existence of some monopolistic element or tendency in its business. There would be no hardship in such supervision; banks are subject to it, and in their case it is now accepted as a simple matter of course. Indeed, it is probable that supervision of corporations by the national government need not go so far as is now the case with the supervision exercised over them by so conservative a State as Massachusetts, in order to produce excellent results.

"When the constitution was adopted, at the end of the eighteenth century, no human wisdom could foretell the sweeping changes, alike in industrial and political conditions, which were to take place by the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time it was accepted as a matter of course that the several States were the proper authorities to regulate, so far as was then necessary, the comparatively insignificant and strictly localized corporate bodies of the day. The conditions are now wholly different, and wholly different action is called for.

"I believe that a law can be framed which will enable the national government to exercise control along the lines above indicated; profiting by the experience gained through the passage and administration of the Interstate Commerce Act. If, however, the judgment of the Congress is that it lacks the constitutional power to pass such an act, then a constitutional amendment should be submitted to confer the power."

The President recommended the creation of a Cabinet officer to be known as Secretary of Commerce and Industries, as provided in the bill previously introduced into Congress, and it should be the province of such officer to deal with commerce in its broadest sense, including, among many other things, whatever concerns labor and all matters affecting the great business corporations and our merchant marine.

The action proposed was declared to be one phase of what should be a comprehensive and far-reaching scheme of constructive statesmanship for the purpose of broadening our markets, securing our business interests on a safe basis, and making firm our new position in the international industrial world, while scrupulously protecting the rights of wage-worker and capitalist, of investor and private citizen, so as to secure equity as between man and man. Wages in the United States to-day are higher than ever before in our history, and much higher than in any other country, while the standard of living is also higher than at any previous time.

President Roosevelt declared himself unreservedly for protection from Chinese and convict labor, and recommended the immediate re-enactment of the law excluding

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Chinese laborers whose enforcement should be made rigidly effective. This law at first sight may seem unjust, and yet it is demanded by self-protection. It is impossible for any American to live upon wages which are sufficient to make a Chinaman wealthy in the course of time.

You need not be reminded that another serious problem before us is that of intelligently restricting immigration, for it is the immigrant who brings with him his vicious anarchistic principles which have borne such a harvest of evil already. There is point to the anecdote that when one of these immigrants was asked whether he was a Democrat or Republican, he replied: "I don't know yet, but I don't join any party unless it is against the government." Respecting our immigration laws, President Roosevelt said:

"We need every honest and efficient immigrant fitted to become an American citizen; every immigrant who comes here to stay, who brings here a strong body, a stout heart, a good head, and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way and to bring up his children as law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. But there should be a comprehensive law enacted with the object of working a threefold improvement over our present system. First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a low moral tendency or of unsavory reputation. This means that we should require a more thorough system of inspection abroad and a more rigid system of examination at our immigration ports, the former being especially necessary.

"The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be to secure by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens. This would not keep out all anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal class. But it would do what is also in point, that is, tend to decrease the sum of ignorance, so potent in producing the envy, suspicion, malignant passion and hatred of order out of which anarchistic sentiment inevitably springs.

"Finally, all persons should be excluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor. There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living and enough money to insure a decent start under American conditions. This would stop the influx of cheap labor, and the resulting competition, which give rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life; and it would dry up the springs of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth.

"Both the educational and economic tests in a wise immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the general body politic and social. A very close supervision should be exercised over the steamship companies which mainly bring over the immigrants, and they should be held to a strict accountability for any infraction of the law."

The principle of reciprocity, subject to the proviso of the proper protection neces-

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SCHLEY COURT OF INQUIRY.

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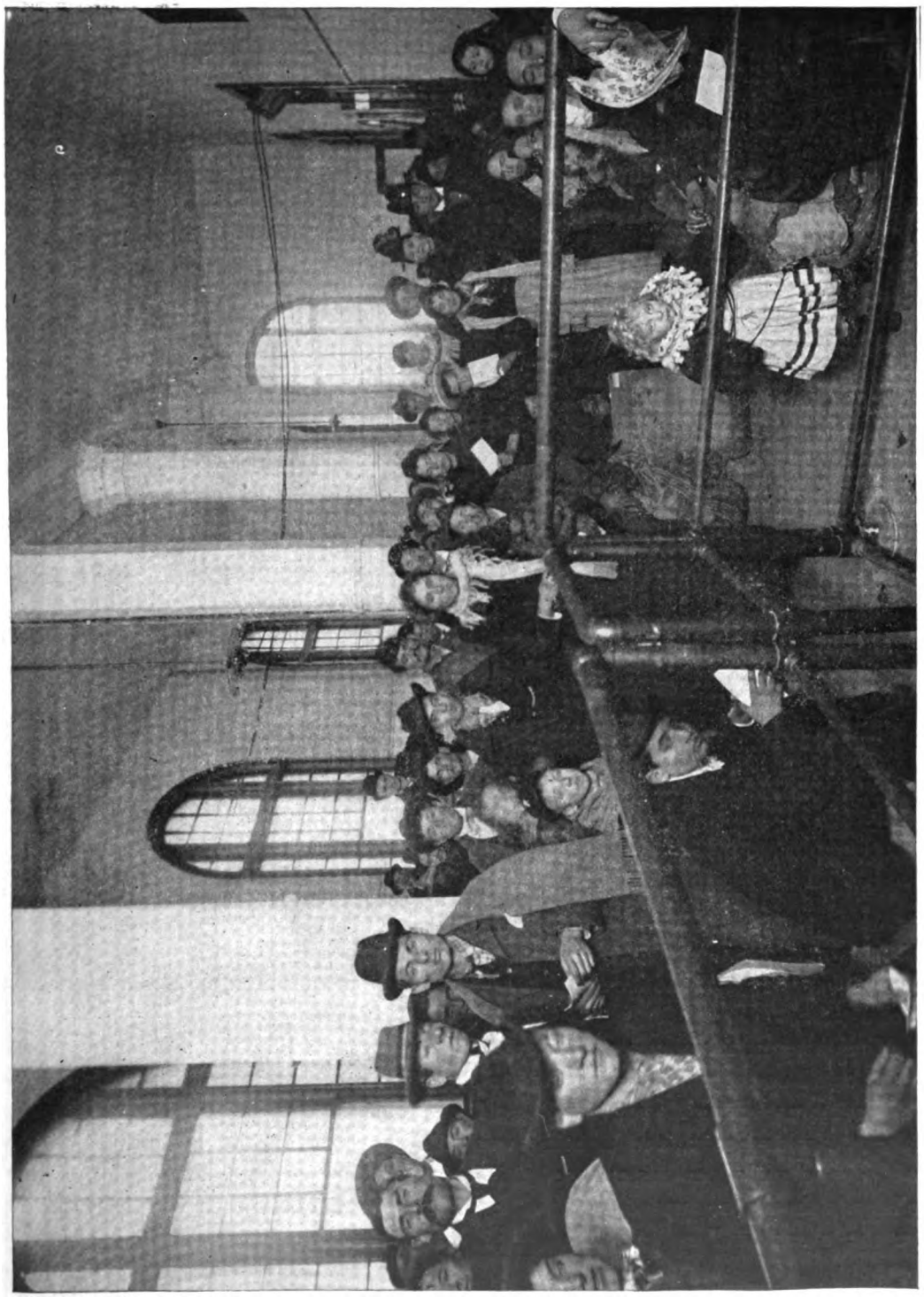

IMMIGRATION PEN AT ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK CITY.

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sary to our well-being at home, was commended by the President, and Congress was urged to take action to restore our merchant marine to the ocean. A careful reduction should be made in revenues as well as a strict economy secured in public expenditures. Railway rates should be just and open to all shippers alike. The government should see to it that within its jurisdiction this is made a fact and should provide a speedy, inexpensive and effective remedy to that end.

When the Department of Agriculture was established some years ago, it was ridiculed in many quarters, as useless and expensive, but the President claimed the results proved that it gave much practical aid to farming and stock-growing interests. The West justly demanded the protection and extension of the national forest preserves, and in accordance with the Republican platform, the President strongly recommended the building of irrigation works for the reclamation of arid public lands. He declared also that there was crying need of a cable to Hawaii and the Philippines, to be continued from the latter to points in Asia. Regarding the construction of an Isthmian canal, he was pointed and forcible:

"No single great material work which remains to be undertaken on this continent is of such consequence to the American people as the building of a canal across the isthmus connecting North and South America. Its importance to the nation is by no means limited merely to its material effects upon our business prosperity; and yet with a view to these effects alone it would be to the last degree important for us immediately to begin it. While its beneficial effects would perhaps be most marked upon the Pacific coast and the Gulf and South Atlantic States, it would also greatly benefit other sections.

"It is emphatically a work which it is for the interest of the entire country to begin and complete as soon as possible; it is one of those great works which only a great nation can undertake with prospects of success, and which when done are not only permanent assets in the nation's material interests, but standing monuments to its constructive ability."

As was to be expected, the President was emphatic in declaring adherence to the Monroe Doctrine, against which it may be said no American would dare or wish to raise his voice. Among the other recommendations were the work of upbuilding the navy, civil service, and the recognition of the Indian as an individual and not as a member of a tribe.

Much interest attached to the President's policy regarding our insular possessions. No one could doubt where he stood as to the wisdom of acquiring them, and there was no difficulty respecting Hawaii and Porto Rico, but two years had passed since the close of the war with Spain, and fighting was still going on in the Philippines. As we know, a good many persons opposed this action on our part, and some maintained that the islands should be turned over to the Filipinos and our troops withdrawn. What were the views of President Roosevelt? Here they are, expressed in characteristic language:

"In the Philippines our problem is larger. They are very rich tropical islands, inhabited by many varying tribes, representing widely different stages of progress

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toward civilization. Our earnest effort is to help these people upward along the stony and difficult path that leads to self-government. We hope to make our administration of the islands honorable to our nation by making it of the highest benefit to the Filipinos themselves; and as an earnest of what we intend to do, we point to what we have done. Already a greater measure of material prosperity and of governmental honesty and efficiency has been attained in the Philippines than ever before in their history.

"It is no light task for a nation to achieve the temperamental qualities without which the institutions of free government are but an empty mockery. Our people are now successfully governing themselves, because for more than a thousand years they have been slowly fitting themselves, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, toward this end. What has taken us thirty generations to achieve, we cannot expect to see another race accomplish out of hand, especially when large portions of that race start very far behind the point which our ancestors had reached even thirty generations ago.

"In dealing with the Philippine people we must show both patience and strength, forbearance and steadfast resolution. Our aim is high. We do not desire to do for the islanders merely what has elsewhere been done for tropic peoples by even the best foreign governments. We hope to do for them what has never before been done for any people of the tropics—to make them fit for self-government after the fashion of the really free nations.

"History may safely be challenged to show a single instance in which a masterful race such as ours, having been forced by the exigencies of war to take possession of an alien land, has behaved to its inhabitants with the disinterested zeal for their progress that our people have shown in the Philippines. To leave the islands at this time would mean that they would fall into a welter of murderous anarchy. Such desertion of duty on our part would be a crime against humanity. The character of Governor Taft and of his associates and subordinates is a proof, if such be needed, of the sincerity of our effort to give the islanders a constantly increasing measure of self-government, exactly as fast as they show themselves fit to exercise it. Since the civil government was established not an appointment has been made in the islands with any reference to considerations of political influence, or to aught else save the fitness of the man and the need of the service.

"In our anxiety for the welfare and progress of the Philippines, it may be that here and there we have gone too rapidly in giving them local self-government. It is on this side that our error, if any, has been committed. No competent observer, sincerely desirous of finding out the facts and influenced only by a desire for the welfare of the natives, can assert that we have not gone far enough. We have gone to the very verge of safety in hastening the process. To have taken a single step farther or faster in advance would have been folly and weakness, and might well have been crime. We are extremely anxious that the natives shall show the power of governing themselves. We are anxious, first for their sakes, and next, because it relieves us of a great burden. There need not be the slightest fear of our not continuing to give them all the liberty for which they are fit.

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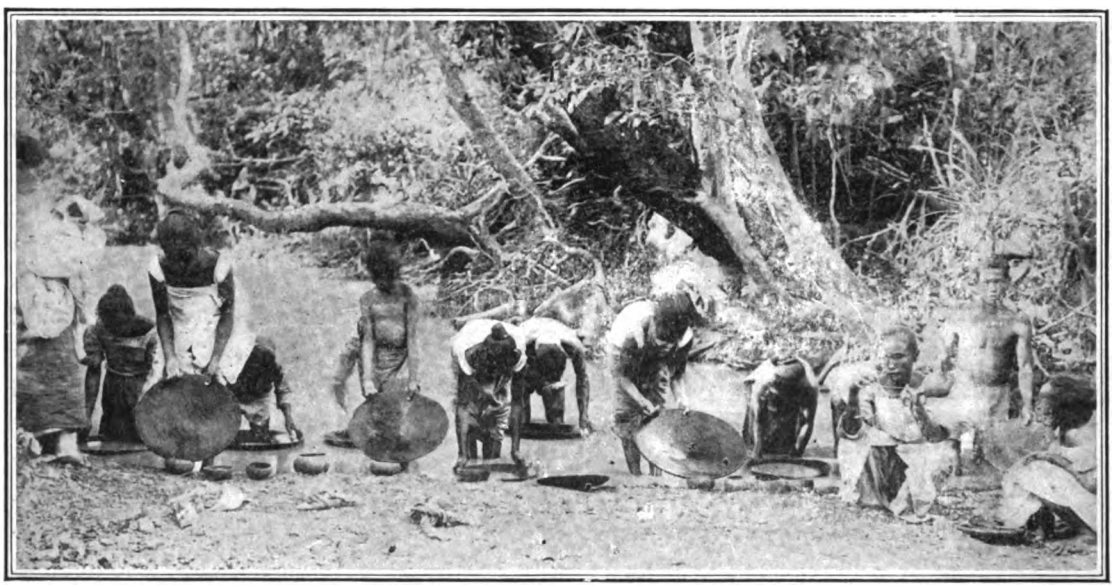
"The only fear is lest in our over-anxiety we give them a degree of independence for which they are unfit, thereby inviting reaction and disaster. As fast as there is any reasonable hope that in a given district the people can govern themselves, self-government has been given in that district. There is not a locality fitted for self-government which has not received it. But it may well be that in certain cases it will have to be withdrawn because the inhabitants show themselves unfit to exercise it; such instances have already occurred. In other words, there is not the slightest chance of our failing to show a sufficiently humanitarian spirit. The danger comes in the opposite direction.

"There are still troubles ahead in the islands. The insurrection has become an affair of local banditti and marauders, who deserve no higher regard than the brigands of portions of the Old World. Encouragement, direct or indirect, to these insurrectos stands on the same footing as encouragement to hostile Indians in the days when we still had Indian wars. Exactly as our aim is to give to the Indian who remains peaceful the fullest and amplest consideration, but to have it understood that we will show no



MEMBERS OF THE TRIBE OF IGORROTES PANNING EARTH FROM THE BOTTOM OF THE RIVER FOR THE PURPOSE OF WASHING GOLD OUT OF IT.

(The pans are made of bamboo, woven so closely that water does not run through.)

weakness if he goes on the warpath, so we must make it evident, unless we are false to our own traditions and to the demands of civilization and humanity, that while we will do everything in our power for the Filipino who is peaceful, we will take the sternest measures with the Filipino who follows the path of the insurrecto and the ladrone.

"The heartiest praise is due to large numbers of the natives of the islands for their steadfast loyalty. The Macabebes have been conspicuous for their courage and devotion to the flag. I recommend that the Secretary of War be empowered to take some systematic action in the way of aiding those of these men who are crippled in the service and the families of those who are killed.

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"The time has come when there should be additional legislation for the Philippines. Nothing better can be done for the islands than to introduce industrial enterprises. Nothing would benefit them so much as throwing them open to industrial development. The connection between idleness and mischief is proverbial, and the opportunity to do remunerative work is one of the surest preventives of war. Of course, no business man will go into the Philippines unless it is to his interest to do so; and it is immensely to the interest of the islands that he should go in. It is therefore necessary that the Congress should pass laws by which the resources of the islands can be developed; so that franchises (for limited terms of years) can be granted to companies doing business in

A TYPICAL SCENE ALONG THE COAST OF LUZON, NORTH OF MANILA.
(The cocoanut palms give a beautiful setting to the native hut below.)

them, and every encouragement be given to the incoming of business men of every kind.

"Not to permit this is to do a wrong to the Philippines. The franchises must be granted and the business permitted only under regulations which will guarantee the islands against any kind of improper exploitation. But the vast natural wealth of the islands must be developed, and the capital willing to develop it must be given the opportunity. The field must be thrown open to individual enterprise, which has been the real factor in the development of every region over which our flag has flown.

"It is urgently necessary to enact suitable laws dealing with general transportation, mining, banking, currency, homesteads, and the use and ownership of the lands and timber. These laws will give free play to industrial enterprise; and the commercial development which will surely follow will afford to the people of the islands the best proofs of the sincerity of our desire to aid them."

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CHAPTER XIII.

ROOSEVELT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1901–1904—CONTINUED—THE SCHLEY AND SAMPSON CONTROVERSY.

ONE of the most unpleasant incidents connected with the war with Spain was the bitter controversy that arose between the partisans of Rear-Admiral Schley and Admiral Sampson as to the respective credit due those commanders in the destruction of Cervera's fleet on the 3d of July, 1898. You will recall that at the time of this battle Admiral Sampson was absent, holding a conference with General Shafter. Upon hearing the sound of the cannon he rushed for the scene of the struggle, but did not arrive until it was virtually over. The mistake made by him, to which I cannot help thinking the subsequent wrangle was mainly due, was that in his first dispatch to the government announcing the crushing victory, he was not chivalrous enough to give the actual participants the glory that was rightly theirs. A simple reading of this dispatch, with no other knowledge of the occurrence, would make one suppose that Sampson was present and personally directing operations. Had he been as magnanimous and tactful as Admiral Dewey or other commanders and ascribed the credit to his subordinates, though technically it belonged to himself, the American nation would have been quick to bestow unstinted praise upon him, and the unseemly quarrel that followed never would have taken place.

But the censure of Commodore (now Rear-Admiral) Schley, in official reports and in the public press, and especially in Maclay's excellent "History of the Navy," became so sharp that on July 19, 1901, the publisher of the Baltimore *American*, a warm friend of Schley, who, as you know, is a native of Maryland, addressed a letter to President McKinley, complaining that the work alluded to was a semi-officially recognized text-book in the Naval Academy, and that it charged Rear-Admiral Schley with being a coward, a liar, a caitiff, an incompetent and insubordinate. The author, in an interview published in the same paper, said that proofs of the offending volume were submitted to Secretary Long and Admiral Sampson, and approved by them in advance of publication, and further, Long gave him his situation of Navy Department clerk attached to the Brooklyn Navy Yard, after reading the attack upon Admiral Schley. Admiral Dewey, however, refused to read the proofs that were also submitted to him.

The Secretary of the Navy immediately ordered the rejection of Maclay's history as a text-book at the Naval Academy, and declared that he had not read the proof of the work as a whole, but only the chapter relating to the mobilization of the fleets, and that he did not see Maclay's account of the battle of Santiago until after it was published. In an interview given a few days later in the Boston *Transcript*, Admiral Sampson said: "In one way, possibly, I was responsible for the statements made in the history. I was commander-in-chief of the squadron, and was responsible, so far as reading the proofs

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goes. If the historian has taken facts from my official reports to the Navy Department, that is all well and good. I stand by first reports and official communications. I would welcome an investigation of this whole matter by Congress or by the Navy Department, but I see no hope of its being taken up."

On the day of this interview, Admiral Schley wrote to the Secretary of the Navy saying that he had refrained heretofore from all comment upon the innuendos of his enemies, muttered or murmured in secret, but he thought the time had come to take such action as would bring the entire matter under the clearer and calmer review of his brothers in arms, and he asked such action at the hands of the department as it might deem best to accomplish that purpose.

In reply, Secretary Long approved the request of Schley, and, on July 25, the Secretary named the following members of the court of inquiry: Admiral Dewey (president), with Rear-Admirals Lewis Ashfield Kimberley and Andrew Kennedy Benham, the court to assemble in Washington September 12. Soon after Judge-Advocate General Lemley, of the navy, was named judge-advocate for this inquiry. Age and infirmity compelled Admiral Kimberley to retire, and in August Rear-Admiral Henry L. Howison (retired) was chosen as his substitute.

Ten points of inquiry were specified for the court, which, however, was given full discretion to "make its examination into this matter, as requested by the officer at whose instance it is convened."

To judge of the character of Maclay's criticism the following brief extracts are given from his comments, the first referring to the reasons of Schley for his temporary withdrawal from before Santiago:

"In his report about the coal supply of the vessels under his command, Schley exhibited either a timidity amounting to absolute cowardice or a prevarication of facts that were intrinsically falsehoods . . . Schley . . . turned in caitiff flight from the danger spot toward which duty, honor, and the whole American people were most earnestly urging him."

Concerning the famous "loop" made by the *Brooklyn*, Maclay said:

"Schley hastily ordered the helm aport. . . . 'But that will carry us into the *Texas*,' said the officer. 'Let the *Texas* take care of herself,' was the heartless reply, and the shameful spectacle of an American warship, supported by a force superior to the enemy's—a warship whose commander had expended such vast quantities of ammunition on target practice in the presence of a fashionable hotel at Hampton Roads in order to meet a worthy foe—deliberately turning tail and running away, was presented. . . . Cervera nobly threw down the gauntlet. Schley cravenly declined to take it up."

In an interview published in another Boston paper, Admiral Howison was represented as condemning the action of Schley before Santiago. The alert counsel of Schley called the admiral to account. In reply, he said he had no recollection of the interview quoted, but did not deny that he had expressed his opinion on the question to his friends, for every intelligent man must have an opinion, but his mind was open and he was ready to listen to testimony and facts, and judge conscientiously all questions

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brought before him. Nevertheless, formal objection was brought against the admiral, and the court excused him from service, and Rear-Admiral Ramsay, retired, was named as the third member of the court.

An adjournment of the court was had until September 20, when, until the 9th of October following, the witnesses brought forward by the judge-advocate gave their testimony. This touched the following points: Schley's conduct off Cienfuegos; his slow progress in his voyage to Santiago; the retrograde movement toward Key West; the bombardment of the *Cristobal Colon;* the blockade of Santiago; and the *Brooklyn's* "loop." On each of these points the witnesses in their direct examination gave testimony tending to prove the charge of "reprehensible conduct" on the part of Schley, but in every instance the cross-examination brought out facts much more favorable to the conduct of Schley. To illustrate, although a system of signaling had been arranged by Captain McCalla of the *Marblehead* with the Cuban insurgents near Cienfuegos, and though they were understood by a number of officers, yet they had not been communicated to Schley, who saw the fires on the shore, but was without the means of knowing their significance.

The hearing of testimony was finished on the last day of October, and all that remained to be done was its correction by witnesses, and the arguments of the advocates on both sides. The specifications regarded as the most important related to the retrograde movement of the flying squadron from Santiago, and the propriety of the "loop" made by the *Brooklyn* at Santiago at the opening of the battle which ended with the destruction of Cervera's fleet.

Concerning the retrograde movement from Santiago, the government witnesses, with the exception of Commander Miller and Captain Sigsbee, testified that they could at any time have coaled at sea. Lieutenant Dyson swore that there was not a vessel in the squadron that could not have stayed on blockade duty a week longer and still have enough coal left to steam to Key West, with the single exception of the *Marblehead.* It was shown by the log of the coaler *Merrimac* that on every day after her arrival off Santiago the ships were coaling from her and that it was done at Cienfuegos.

On the other hand, Admiral Schley's witnesses declared that when he turned westward he had no knowledge that the Spanish ships were at Santiago. The flying squadron arrived off that port as May 26 was closing in. Schley's witnesses testified that the weather was rough and squally with heavy seas, and that the coaler *Merrimac* had broken down. Captain Sigsbee was sure that coaling would have been dangerous on May 26. The *Merrimac* was repaired to that degree that she was capable of making four or five miles an hour when the retrograde movement began. Late on May 27, when the weather had cleared, the *Texas* commenced to take coal from the *Merrimac* while other vessels were coaled by boat or otherwise. It was also shown that Captain Wise failed to communicate to Commodore Schley a dispatch received by him from the department regarding the arrival of Cervera at Santiago. It was stated further that Captain Sigsbee boarded the *Brooklyn* and told Schley that though he had been scouting off Santiago for a full week he had seen nothing of the Spanish fleet. Admiral Schley himself swore that the dispatch of May 27 from the department, which definitely

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located the Spanish at Santiago, did not reach him until June 20, which testimony was corroborated by several witnesses.

Regarding the "loop," Commander Heilner of the *Texas* said it was a more serious menace to his ship than the guns of the enemy, while Admiral Evans and other officers of the *Iowa* asserted that they were in danger of running into the *Texas* as she was stopping and backing, because of which stopping and backing the *Texas*, according to her commander, lost about three miles. Admiral Evans, Captain Taylor, and other officers saw nothing on the part of the Spanish vessels which indicated an intention of ramming the *Brooklyn*.

Commander Hodgson on behalf of Schley testified as navigator of the *Brooklyn* that she swung clear of the *Texas*, and at no time was there danger of collision, and that the *Vizcaya* and *Maria Teresa* sheered off as if with the intention of ramming the *Brooklyn*, because of which he regarded the "loop" as the crucial point of the battle. Captain Cook of the *Brooklyn* testified that it was not Schley but himself who ordered this "tactical movement made necessary by the position of Cervera's ships." Admiral Schley confirmed this testimony, adding that had not Captain Cook ordered the "loop" he would have done so himself at the moment it was made.

The official findings of the court were published December 13. They consisted of two parts, the first of which was voluminous and was signed: "George Dewey, Admiral U. S. N., president; Sam C. Lemly, Judge-Advocate General, U. S. N." They found all allegations against Rear-Admiral Schley proved, with the exception of the charge of cowardice.

Schley did not proceed with the utmost dispatch to Cienfuegos nor did he blockade Cienfuegos as closely as possible. He made no effort to ascertain whether the Spanish squadron was there. In proceeding from Cienfuegos to Santiago he did not use all dispatch and he did not dispose his vessels with a view to intercept the enemy should Cervera attempt to pass the flying squadron. He should not have made the retrograde movement with his squadron. He should have obeyed the Navy Department's order of May 25. On May 29 and 30 he should have endeavored to capture or destroy the Spanish ships anchored at the entrance of Santiago harbor. When he attacked on May 31 he did not do his utmost with the force he had. In the "loop movement" he caused the *Brooklyn* to lose distance and position; that movement caused the *Texas* to back and stop her engines. Schley did injustice to Captain Hodgson in publishing only a portion of their mutual correspondence. Schley's conduct throughout the Santiago campaign prior to June 1, 1898, "was characterized by vacillation, dilatoriness, and lack of enterprise." His official reports regarding coal supply for the squadron "were inaccurate and misleading." But "his conduct during the battle of July 3 was self-possessed and he encouraged, in his own person, his subordinate officers and men to fight courageously."

After signing this report, Admiral Dewey expressed his individual opinion:

That the passage from Key West to Cienfuegos "was made with all possible dispatch," Schley being impressed with the importance of arriving off Cienfuegos with as much coal as possible in the ships' bunkers; that the blockade of Cienfuegos was effect-

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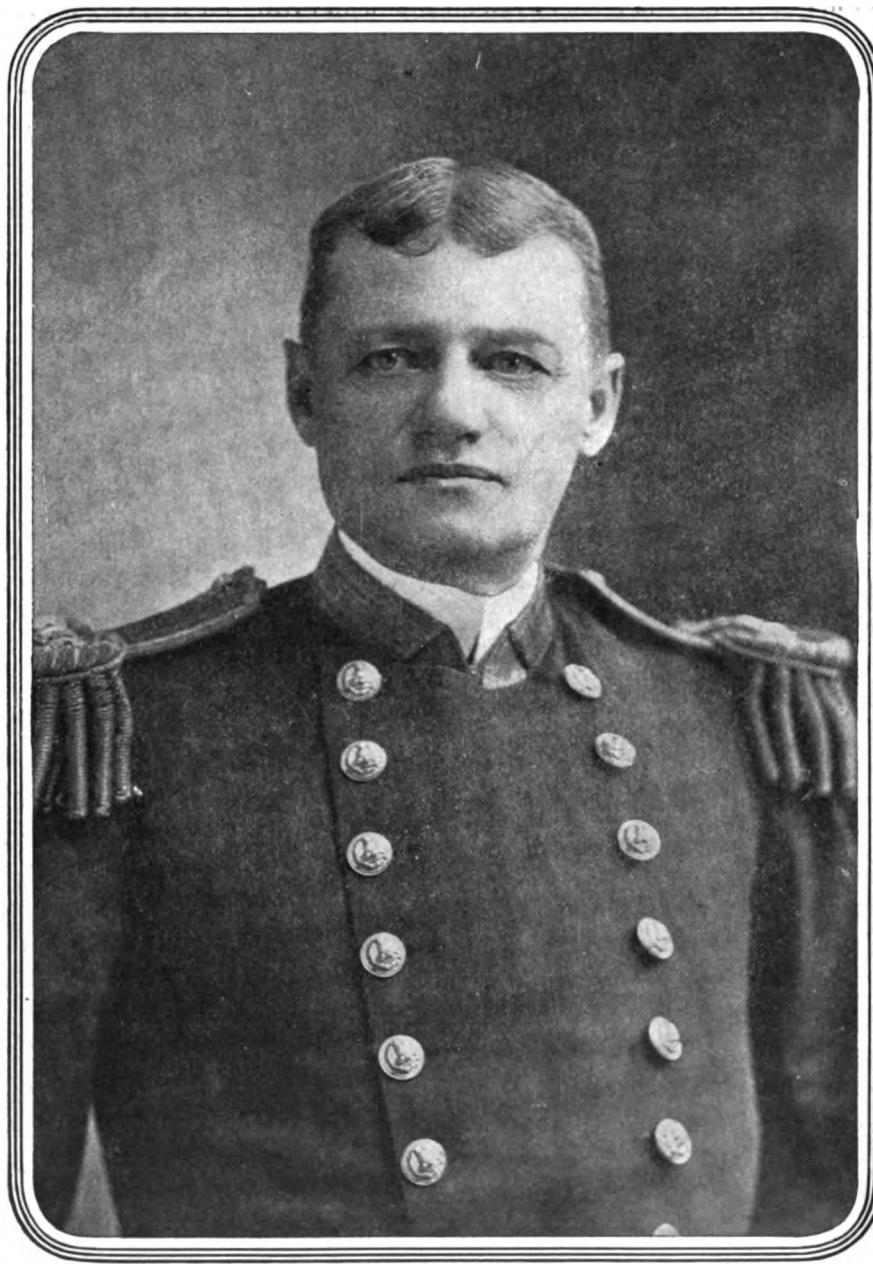
ive; that the passage from Cienfuegos to a point about twenty-four miles south of Santiago was made "with as much dispatch as was possible while keeping the squadron a



REAR-ADMIRAL ROBLEY D. EVANS.

unit"; finally, that "Commodore Schley was the senior officer of our squadron off Santiago when the Spanish squadron attempted to escape on the morning of July 3, 1898.

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He was in absolute command, and is entitled to the credit due to such commanding officer for the glorious victory which resulted in the total destruction of the Spanish ships."

This verdict was so emphatic against Admiral Schley that his partisans and friends were dissatisfied and talk of action by Congress was general. Finally Schley himself appealed to President Roosevelt for a rehearing of the case. The President's reply was published February 19, 1902. He informed Schley that he had carefully read his appeal and its answer by the Navy Department, that he had examined all the testimony taken before the court and the statements of the respective counsel, including all the official reports relating to the Santiago naval campaign, beside which he had had before him the four surviving captains of the five ships, aside from those of the two admirals, that were actively engaged at Santiago.

The President referred to the fact that the court of inquiry was unanimous in its findings of fact, and unanimous in its expression of opinion of most of the findings of fact. "No appeal is made to me from the verdict of the court on these points where it was unanimous. I have, however, gone carefully over the evidence on these points also. I am satisfied that on the whole the court did substantial justice. It should have specifically condemned the failure to enforce an efficient night blockade at Santiago while Admiral Schley was in command. On the other hand, I feel that there is a reasonable doubt whether he did not move his squadron with sufficient expedition from port to port. The court is a unit in condemning Admiral Schley's actions on the point where it seems to me he most gravely erred: his 'retrograde movement' when he abandoned the blockade and his disobedience of orders and misstatement of facts in relation thereto. It should be remembered, however, that the majority of these actions which the court censures occurred five weeks or more before the fight itself; and it certainly seems that if Admiral Schley's actions were censurable he should not have been left as second in command under Admiral Sampson. His offenses were in effect condoned when he was not called to account for them. Admiral Sampson, after the fight, in an official letter to the Department alluded for the first time to Admiral Schley's 'reprehensible conduct' six weeks previously. If Admiral Schley was guilty of reprehensible conduct of a kind which called for such notice from Admiral Sampson, then Admiral Sampson ought not to have left him as senior officer of the blockading squadron on the 3d of July, when he (Sampson) steamed away on his proper errand of communication with General Shafter."

The President then proceeded carefully to analyze the testimony upon which the court based its finding and summed up as follows:

"The question of command is in this case nominal and technical. Admiral Sampson's ship, the *New York*, was seen at the outset of the fight from all the other ships except the *Brooklyn*. Four of these five ship captains have testified that they regarded him as present and in command. He signaled 'Close in' to the fleet as soon as the first Spanish ship appeared, but his signal was not seen by any American vessel. He was actually under fire from the forts, and himself fired a couple of shots, at the close of the action with the torpedo boats, in addition to signaling the *Indiana*

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just at the close of the action. But during the action not a single order from him was received by any of the ships that were actively engaged.

"Admiral Schley at the outset of the action hoisted the two signals of 'Clear ship' and 'Close in,' which was simply carrying out the standing orders of Admiral Sampson as to what should be done if the enemy's ships attempted to break out of the harbor. Until after the close of the first portion of the fight at the mouth of the harbor, and until after he had made his loop and the Spanish ships were fleeing to the westward, not another American ship noticed a signal from him. When the western pursuit had begun the *Oregon*, and the *Oregon* only, noticed and repeated one of his signals of command. The captain of the *Oregon* then regarded him as in command, but did not in any shape or way execute any movement or any action of any kind whatsoever in accordance with any order from him.

"In short, the question as to which of the two men, Admiral Sampson or Admiral Schley, was at the time in command is of merely nominal character. Technically Sampson commanded the fleet, and Schley, as usual, the western division. The actual fact, the important fact, is that after the battle was joined not a helm was shifted, not a gun was fired, not a pound of steam was put on in the engine room aboard any ship actively engaged, in obedience to the order of either Sampson or Schley, save on their own two vessels. It was a Captains' fight.

"Therefore the credit to which each of the two is entitled rests on matters apart from the claim of nominal command over the squadron; for, so far as the actual fight was concerned, neither one nor the other in fact exercised any command. Sampson was hardly more than technically in the fight. His real claim for credit rests upon his work as Commander-in-Chief; upon the excellence of the blockade; upon the preparedness of the squadron; upon the arrangement of the ships head-on in a semicircle around the harbor: and the standing orders in accordance with which they instantly moved to the attack of the Spaniards when the latter appeared. For all these things the credit is his.

"Admiral Schley is rightly entitled—as is Captain Cook—to the credit of what the *Brooklyn* did in the fight. On the whole she did well; but I agree with the unanimous finding of the three Admirals who composed the court of inquiry as to the 'loop.' It seriously marred the *Brooklyn's* otherwise excellent record, being in fact the one grave mistake made by any American ship that day. Had the *Brooklyn* turned to the westward, that is, in the same direction that the Spanish ships were going, instead of in the contrary direction, she would undoubtedly have been in more 'dangerous proximity' to them. But it would have been more dangerous for them as well as for her! This kind of danger must not be too nicely weighed by those whose trade it is to dare greatly for the honor of the flag. Moreover, the danger was certainly not as great as that which, in the selfsame moment, menaced Wainwright's fragile craft as he drove forward against the foe. It was not, in my judgment, as great as the danger to which the *Texas* was exposed by the turn as actually made. It certainly caused both the *Brooklyn* and the *Texas* materially to lose position compared to the fleeing Spanish vessels. But after the loop had once been taken Admiral Schley handled the *Brooklyn* manfully and well.

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She and the *Oregon* were thenceforth the headmost of the American vessels—though the *Iowa* certainly, and seemingly the *Texas* also, did as much in hammering to a standstill the *Vizcaya*, *Oquendo*, and *Teresa;* while the *Indiana* did all her eastward position and crippled machinery permitted. In the chase of the *Colon* the *Brooklyn* and *Oregon* share the credit between them.

"Under such circumstances it seems to me that the recommendations of President McKinley were eminently proper and that so far as Admirals Sampson and Schley were concerned, it would have been unjust for him to have made other recommendations. Personally, I feel that in view of Captain Clark's long voyage in the *Oregon* and the condition in which he brought her to the scene of service, as well as the way in which he actually managed her before and during the fight, it would have been well to have given him the same advancement that was given Wainwright. But waiving this, it is evident that Wainwright was entitled to receive more than any of the other commanders; and that it was just to Admiral Sampson that he should receive a greater advance in numbers than Admiral Schley—there was nothing done in the battle that warranted any unusual reward for either. In short, as regards Admirals Sampson and Schley, I find that President McKinley did substantial justice, and that there would be no warrant for reversing his action.

"Both Admiral Sampson and Admiral Schley are now on the retired list. In concluding their reports the members of the court of inquiry, Admirals Dewey, Benham, and Ramsay, unite in stating that they recommend that no further action be had in the matter. With this recommendation I most heartily concur. There is no excuse whatever from either side for any further agitation of this unhappy controversy. To keep it alive would merely do damage to the navy and to the country."

The closing scene of this most unfortunate controversy came on May 6, 1902, when at five o'clock in the afternoon, Rear-Admiral Sampson died at his home in Washington, where he had lived with his family ever since his detachment from duty as commandant of the Boston Navy Yard. He had been in poor health for a year, and the illness increased to such an extent that his mind partially gave way. His sad condition was probably due in part to the distress caused by the controversy of which you have just read the account.

The question of the promotion of Admirals Sampson and Schley was pending from the official close of the war until the spring of 1901. Meanwhile, Admiral Sampson had served as a member of the Commission to Cuba to reorganize the government after the war and had been assigned to the command of the Boston Navy Yard, from which time until his death he had been in poor physical condition. The facts in his career previous to the close of hostilities have been given in a preceding chapter.

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CHAPTER XIV.

ROOSEVELT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1901–1904—CONTINUED—VISITS BY PRINCE HENRY OF GERMANY AND THE SPECIAL EMBASSY FROM FRANCE.

THE sincerity of the professed friendship between nations is open to great doubt. The rulers of the powers address one another as "great and good friends," refer eloquently to the traditional love that has existed between them from time immemorial, and are sure that no cloud can ever cast a shadow over those delightful relations. But, though there may be a touch of genuine sentiment now and then, there is little honesty in such professions. Each sovereign or ruler is thinking chiefly of the interests of his own country, and should the one whom he is greeting so effusively interfere with any of his projects, he will let slip his dogs of war upon him just as quickly as he can cut the leashes.

When the Czar of Russia falls upon the neck of the President of France, and the happy thousands fling up their hats and shout for joy at the pretty picture, the whole theatrical exhibition is arranged for some selfish purpose. There is as much jealousy among nations as among private citizens. It may seem ungracious to smile at the professions of friendship of the German Emperor for the United States. It was a graceful act when he asked the daughter of President Roosevelt to christen his new yacht at its launching, and this fiery, impulsive and brilliant member of the house of Hohenzollern, in many respects not unlike our own President, gave a still more significant expression of his friendship, when he sent his brother Henry as a guest of the great Republic across the Atlantic. Some suspect that the cultivation of our good will was inspired in the case of Emperor William by resentment toward Great Britain, and a friendship born of dislike to a third person can never ring true.

Prince Henry arrived in New York, February 23, 1902, as the representative of his august brother, at the launching of the emperor's private yacht *Meteor* at Shooter's Island. Reaching the city on the North German Lloyd steamship *Kronprinz*, he boarded the *Hohenzollern*, the emperor's yacht, which had come into port some days before. On this yacht, Prince Henry received the greetings of the delegates of President Roosevelt and of the municipal government. His frank, democratic ways, his good nature and patience, and his unaffected geniality made him popular from the first, and everybody who saw or came in contact with the Prince declared him to be one of the best fellows that ever lived.

The first day after his arrival he was welcomed to the United States by President Roosevelt at the White House, and in the evening was entertained at a state dinner. The toasts and speechmaking were of the most happy character and the Prince established himself in the good graces of all. The *Meteor* was launched February 25, the christening being done by Miss Alice Roosevelt, eldest daughter of the President.

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Prince Henry now entered upon a tour which extended east, west and south, and everywhere he was cordially welcomed. No visit could have been more successful and it was not marred by the slightest unpleasantness. He carried away with him delightful remembrances that brought the heartiest of acknowledgments from the German Emperor himself. A short time after, the latter presented to our government a fine statue of Frederick the Great, who had been generally accounted one of our best friends, when we especially needed friends, during dark days that "tried men's souls." The gift was appropriately accepted and set up in Washington. It must be said, however, that grim old Frederick of Prussia is entitled to no thanks at all from this country. Possibly he did express his good wishes, but his friendship never went any further than that, and "talk is cheap." He did not present Washington with a sword and never raised a finger to give us material help. He cared only for Prussia, and though he was appealed to more than once, he would not take the first step for our benefit. He did not even acknowledge our independence until after England had done so, and then his recognition was worthless to the infant nation.

The case was far different with France. In our account of the American Revolution, you learned something about the invaluable ally that France sent here in the person of the French patriot, Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau. But the achievements of the man justify a fuller reference to his work than has yet been made.

A good while before France determined to confront England in our defense she secretly furnished the money that enabled the Continental army to keep the field. With that money Washington bought muskets, ammunition, food, shoes and clothing for his needy patriots. Burgoyne's surrender gave Louis XVI. the pretext for which he was waiting in order to come out openly as our ally, but nine months before that decisive campaign, the king informed the American commissioners that he would give them secret aid, which would extend their credit and their purchases, and he promptly fulfilled these promises. It was arranged that half a million livres or francs should be paid to the bankers of the commissioners quarterly, and the first installment was in their hands within a week after the pledge was made. The commissioners made a contract with the Farmers-General to furnish them with 56,000 hogsheads of tobacco, upon which they received an advance of a million livres. Three ships laden with military stores were permitted to go to sea, and two of them arrived in time for the summer campaign which brought the triumph of Saratoga.

A steady stream of supplies from France poured into America, and, on March 13, 1778, the French ambassador in London handed to the British Secretary of State the announcement that "the United States of North America are in full possession of independence which they had declared on the 4th of July, 1776, and, to consolidate the connection between the United States and France, their respective plenipotentiaries had signed a treaty of amity and commerce." This notification was in effect a declaration of war against England, and from that time forward for about five years, France was not only obliged to uphold the patriotic cause in America, but to protect her own dependencies through her fleets and armies in all parts of the world.

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Necker, the great financier who had been called in to save his country from bankruptcy, and who knew the almost hopeless condition of France's finances, saw that this aid to America would precipitate the very bankruptcy against which he was making herculean exertions, and he urged that his country should preserve strict neutrality in the struggle, but there was no resisting the tide of enthusiasm for the Americans, and the catastrophe foretold by Necker came with the resistless certainty of fate. France was forced to call the States-General, and on the heels of that thundered the revolution, and all its crushing horrors.

You need hardly be reminded of the vast and far-reaching value of the assistance thus obtained from France. It is true that for a time this was almost wholly of a financial nature, for her soldiers were slow in coming across the ocean, and when they did get here, showed so much backwardness that they were openly insulted by American officers. In one case an officer was accused of cowardice, and in the flurry that followed he was killed, his companions narrowly escaping mobbing. Nevertheless, although our allies were exasperatingly laggard in swinging into line, they struck hard blows and helped materially to attain the triumphant end.

France, the bitter rival for centuries of England, declared war against her, and was followed by similar action on the part of Spain and Holland. Instead of concentrating her naval and military strength upon her colonies, England was compelled to scatter it over the globe, since she was in peril from the three nations. As we know, the operations of the British commander-in-chief in America were mainly defensive, throughout 1778 and 1779, while the recognition of our independence by the Versailles government gave us a prestige in the financial world that enabled us to borrow large sums of money in Madrid and Amsterdam as well as in Paris. The combined Spanish and French fleets were able in more than one instance to hold their own against the most powerful squadrons that England could muster.

Our military prospects steadily improved, with the wave of war continually moving southward, until 1780, when the British commanders on this side of the water resumed the offensive, and not only crushed Georgia, but threatened to subjugate all the southern States and defeat the war for independence, after the years of brave struggle and suffering on the part of the patriots.

At this critical juncture in our fortunes, France sent her army of 6,000 soldiers across the Atlantic under the command of Rochambeau, that valiant and able commander who won the honor not through any influence at court, but solely on his merits. He had been a soldier from the age of sixteen, greatly distinguished himself, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-general.

Rochambeau had hardly arrived at Rhode Island when he pledged the General Assembly that "the French troops would be restrained by the strictest discipline; and that, acting under General Washington, they would live with the Americans as their brethren. I assure the General Assembly, as brethren, not only my life, but the lives of the troops under my command are entirely devoted to their service."

This was the marked distinction between the troops and officers under Washington and those of the British. Cornwallis was the ablest commander in the service of the

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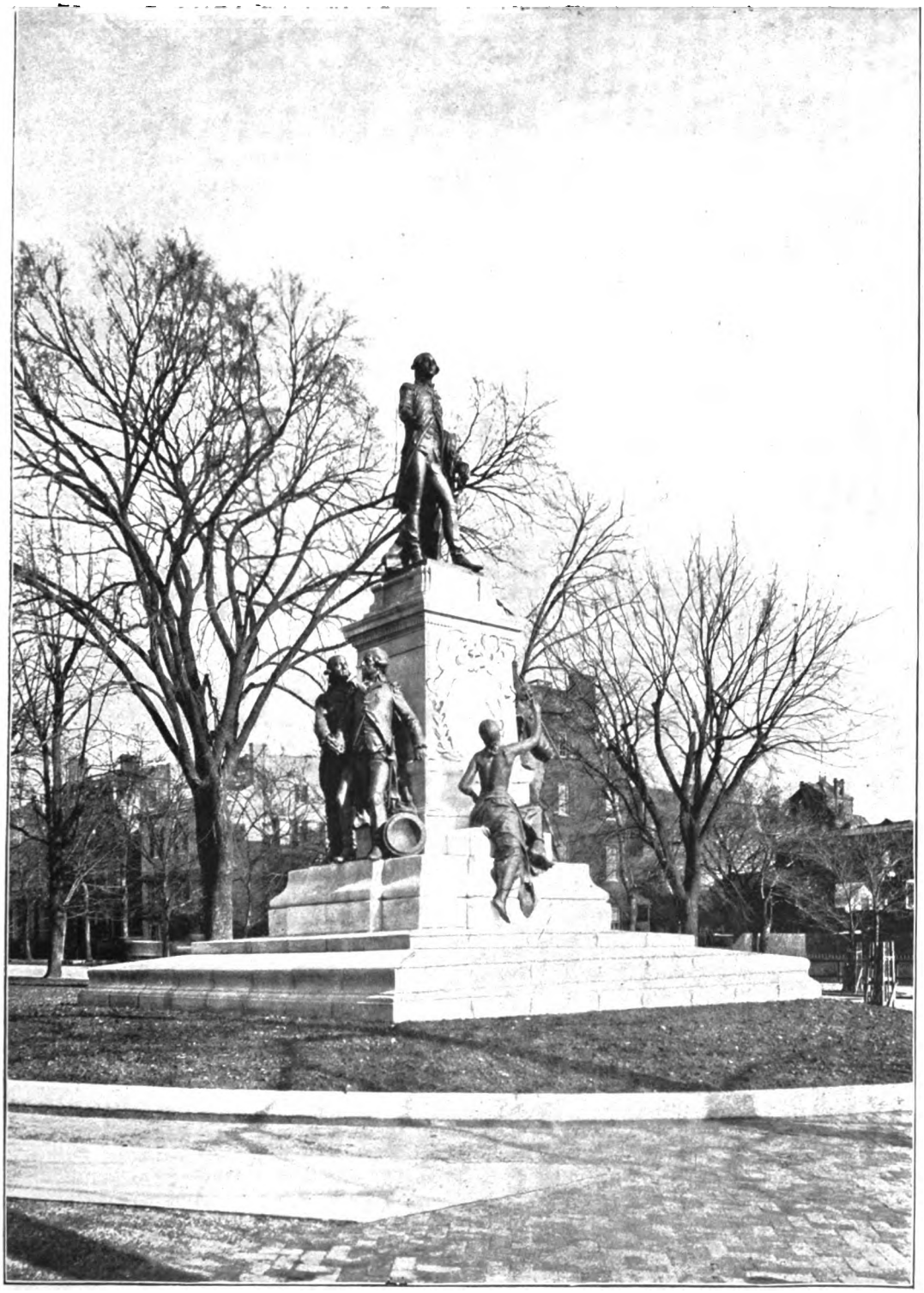

LAFAYETTE STATUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

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invaders, but he had been superseded by Clinton, and the two detested each other. The modest Rochambeau, although of greater military rank than Washington, immediately placed himself and his men under his orders, and the American army itself contained no more loyal supporters of the patriot cause. You have learned the story of that swinging, happy, enthusiastic march of the allies from the north, in the early autumn of 1781, when they proceeded to invest Yorktown and Gloucester, and by compelling the surrender of Cornwallis, brought independence to America, a work which could not have been accomplished at that time without the aid of our French allies.

Recalling all this, it is no wonder that one thrills with gratitude at the name of Rochambeau and that the pleasant interest was general over the unveiling of his statue at Washington on the 24th of May, 1902. This fine work of art was executed by a French sculptor and stands in the extreme southwest corner of Lafayette Square, which also contains the statues of Lafayette and President Jackson. The assemblage was a brilliant one, including the President of the United States, the French Ambassador, with members of his embassy, headed by General Brugère, highly popular with all Americans because of his ardent friendship shown for many years, officers of the French battleship *Gaulois*, and numerous representatives of our army and navy. Particular interest was felt in the Count and Countess de Rochambeau, who represented the family of the great Frenchman who had been our ally and the trusted friend of Washington. The Countess with the aid of the President (for the cord caught and she needed help) pulled the string that caused the veil to fall from the statue.

Addresses were made by the President, by Ambassador Cambon, General Horace Porter and Senator Lodge. These naturally bore more or less upon the services and character of the illustrious Frenchman, who, after his great work for the cause of American independence, returned to his country, where the only recognition he received from his sovereign was a highly prized military order. I may add that Rochambeau became a Marshal in 1791, and in the wild mania for human blood that submerged his country during the Reign of Terror, he had the narrowest escape conceivable from the guillotine. The official whose duty it was to place a chalk mark on the door of each of the victims selected for execution, placed such a mark on the door of the cell in which Rochambeau was imprisoned, but in his haste did not notice that the door was open. Consequently when, on the round of the guard for their victims, they saw the door of Rochambeau's cell shut, they saw not the death sign, and passed on; and he lived to die peacefully, in 1807, one of the most honored sons of France.

The addresses of the President and the French Ambassador were formal and of no special interest, but the others contained allusions which gave a living vitality to Rochambeau that is worthy of preservation. General Porter said:

"To fully appreciate the genuineness of Rochambeau's character as exemplified in his American campaign, we must recollect that he was a member of the old French nobility, and the wearer of decorations bestowed by royal hands, yet coming here to gain battles in the interest of advanced republican principles. It was not his own country for which he was fighting, he had no intention of remaining here to share in the prosperity which would follow success; he therefore did not have the powerful

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stimulus of patriotism to animate him. He came to our shores with a proud army, handsomely equipped, brilliantly uniformed and disciplined in the rigid school of a leading military power of the Old World, to find himself associated with the modest yeomanry of the Colonies who constituted the American forces, who were not supplied with clothing enough to cover their honorable wounds, and the march of whose shoeless battalions could be traced by the blood which flowed from their lacerated feet. Frequent communication with France was impossible, and Rochambeau had been given almost unrestricted liberty of action. Under these circumstances a man with less modesty and magnanimity of character and a less earnest spirit of accommodation might have been overbearing, arrogant and indisposed to look with favor upon plans presented by the American commander, but he manifested from the outset an undisguised willingness to adopt all measures which might facilitate the joint military operations upon this difficult theater of war, and sank all considerations other than those which would conduce to the complete success of the allied armies.

"In all their intercourse they both showed themselves adherents of the principle that it is time to abandon the path of ambition when it becomes so narrow that two cannot walk it abreast.

"Rochambeau, in landing upon our shores, defined his policy toward the Americans in the comprehensive words: 'I am the friend of their friends and the foe of their foes.' His modesty was proverbial. He says in his memoirs, in speaking of the surrender of Yorktown: 'Lord Cornwallis was ill and General O'Hara marched out at the head of the garrison. On arriving, he presented his sword to me. I pointed opposite to General Washington, at the head of the American Army, and I said that the French Army being auxiliary upon that continent, it was to the American General that he must look for orders.'"

The oration of the day by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts was instructive because of its historical references and its eloquent tribute to the services of Rochambeau:

"He reached the United States at a dark hour for the American cause. The first fervor of resistance had cooled, the active fighting had subsided in the North, Congress had grown feeble and inert, government and finance both dragged heavily, and it seemed as if the Revolution, so successful in the field, would founder upon the rocks of political and executive incapacity. Washington and the army, in the midst of almost unparalleled difficulties, alone kept the cause alive. The coming of Rochambeau and his army was a great good fortune, and yet its first result was to induce further relaxation of effort on the part of Congress. Washington, realizing all the event meant, opened correspondence at once with Rochambeau, but it was not until September that he was able to meet the French commander in person at Hartford. It was a great relief to the heavily-burdened General to meet such a man as Rochambeau, and yet, even then, as he turned back with lightened heart and lifted hopes, the news of Arnold's treason smote him on his arrival at West Point. The summer had gone and nothing had been done. Then Rochambeau was unwilling to move without further reinforcements, and Washington was struggling desperately to wring from a hesitating

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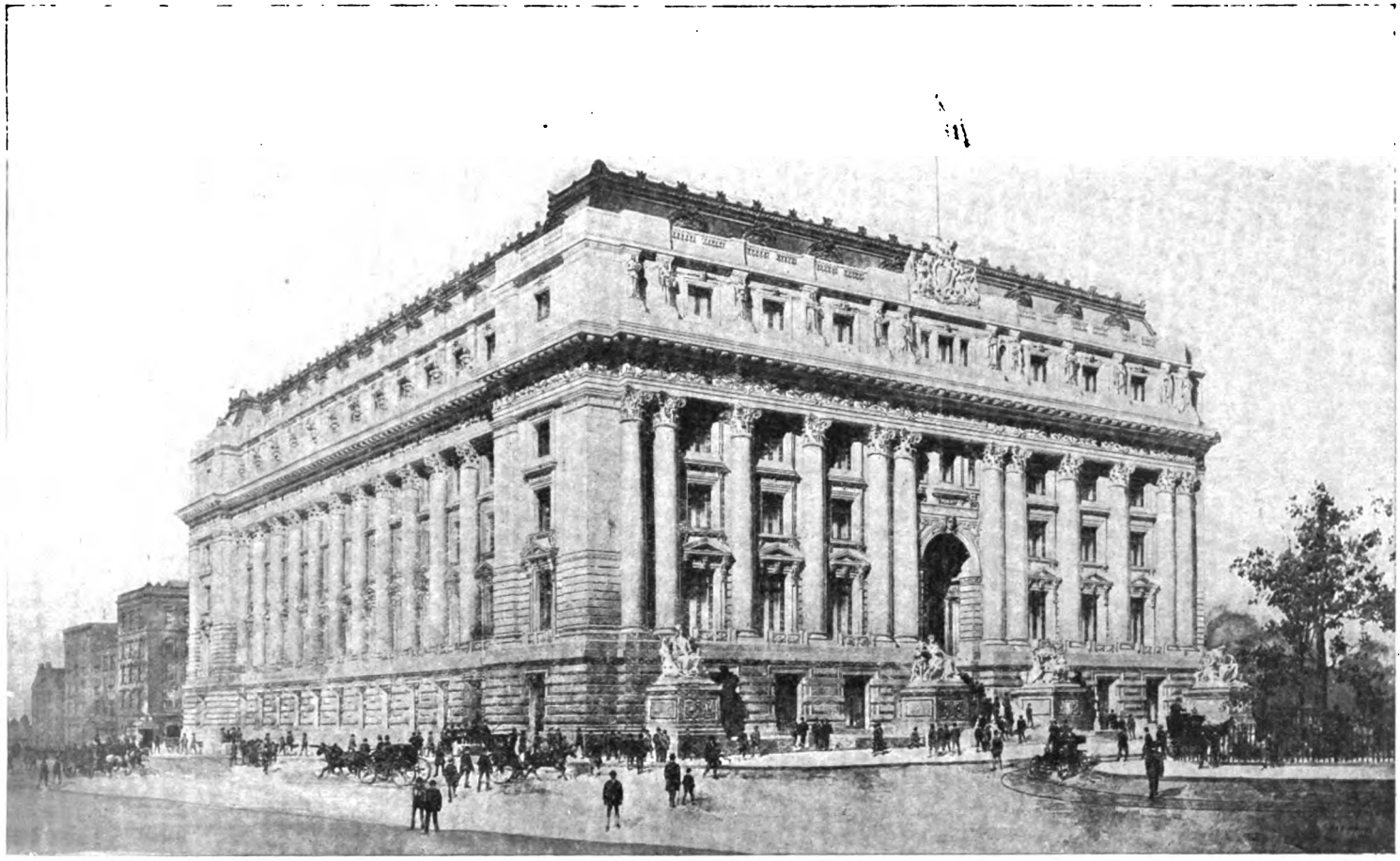

CASS GILBERT, ARCHITECT.

THE NEW U. S. CUSTOM HOUSE, N. Y. CITY.

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Congress and from reluctant States the men, money and supplies absolutely essential if the great opportunity which had now come was not to pass away unused.

"So the winter wore on and spring came, and in May Washington and Rochambeau were again in consultation. Washington was determined to strike a fatal blow somewhere. He considered Florida and the scheme of taking the British under Rawdon in the rear; he thought of Virginia, where Cornwallis, forced northward by Greene's strategy, was established with his army; long and earnestly he looked at New York, the chief seat of British power. Rochambeau showed his military intelligence by leaning strongly to Virginia. But the one vital condition was still lacking. Washington knew that he must command the sea, if only for a month, at the point where he was to deliver the decisive blow. So the days slipped by, the summer waned and then of a sudden the great condition sprang into life. De Grasse, to whom we owe a debt as great as to Rochambeau, appeared in the Chesapeake with his fleet. No longer was there room for doubt. Cornwallis in Virginia was clearly now the quarry for the allied forces.

"Time forbids me to tell the brilliant story of that campaign; of the manner in which De Barras was induced to bring his squadron from the North; of the adroitness with which Clinton was deceived in New York; of the skill and rapidity with which the French and American armies were hurried from New York to the Chesapeake and thence to Yorktown. The great, the golden moment so longed for by Washington, when he could unite both land and sea power, had at last arrived. De Grasse was master of the bay. The English fleet was scattered and divided. Clinton slumbered in New York and Cornwallis, with some nine thousand men, was in Yorktown with the united French and American armies drawn close about him.

"Fast followed the siege, nearer came the inclosing lines, Lauzun dashed back Tarleton's cavalry at the very beginning and every British sortie from that moment was repulsed. Day by day the parallels were pushed forward and at last Washington declared the advanced British redoubts practicable for assault. The French, under Viomenil, the grenadiers of Gatinois, the regiment of Auvergne and Deux-Points, stormed one, and here the most famous of the French regiments recovered from their King the proud motto of "Auvergne sans tache." The other redoubt was assigned to the Americans under Lafayette, led by Alexander Hamilton and John Laurens. Both assaults, brilliantly delivered, were successful, and the American lines included the ground which had been so gallantly won. A desperate sortie under Colonel Graham completely repulsed, a vain attempt to escape by water and then all was over. On the 18th of October Cornwallis surrendered, and on the following day the British filed out and laid down their arms, passing between the ordered lines of the French drawn up under the lilies and the ranks of the Americans standing beneath the thirteen stars, fixed on that day in the firmament of nations. The American Revolution had been fought out and the new people had won."

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CHAPTER XV.

ROOSEVELT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1901–1904—CONTINUED—THE CONSTITUTION AND THE FLAG—THE HALL OF FAME—POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES—WAR PENSIONS.

ONE of the most important questions that have ever been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States was as to whether the Constitution follows or accompanies the flag. In other words, do we, when we acquire possession of any hitherto foreign territory, by that act simultaneously extend the provisions of the Constitution over it?

In the latter part of the autumn of 1900, Judge Estee, of the United States district court of Honolulu, decided this question in the negative. A citizen had been condemned to six months' imprisonment for criminal libel, by a Hawaiian court, and after annexation. The defendant appealed to the supreme court of Hawaii, claiming that the trial was not in accord with American procedure. The judgment of the trial court was confirmed, whereupon the defendant appealed to the United States district court, in which Judge Estee held that the laws of Hawaii allowing conviction on a verdict of nine jurors were still valid, even after annexation; for before Hawaii was annexed it was "a free, enlightened state, possessing all the attributes of sovereignty; and when the islands were annexed by the United States, not only the lands, but the people, with their laws and customs, were annexed, and by the well-established laws of nations those laws and customs remained in force until new laws were enacted for the government of the territory."

Another judge, however, rendered a judgment in the United States circuit court in Hawaii based on an opposite interpretation of the effect of annexation. He released a prisoner who had been convicted of crime without indictment by a grand jury, a proceeding allowed by Hawaiian law, but not by the United States Constitution.

The Supreme Court of the United States on May 27, 1901, made decision upon four cases which involved the relations between the United States and the territory won from Spain. By a vote of five justices to four it was decided that the Constitution does not follow the flag. The court could not well have been more evenly divided, those in the affirmative being Messrs. Brown, Gray, Shiras, White and McKenna, and in the negative, Chief Justice Fuller and Associate Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham.

The most important case was that brought against the Collector of the Port of New York for the recovery of duties paid on goods imported from Porto Rico, after the passage of the act imposing upon such imports fifteen per cent. of the duties levied upon similar goods from foreign countries. Justice Brown rendered the opinion of the court sustaining the validity of this act. As I have said, this was one of the most important questions ever brought before this august tribunal, and the opinion was read

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with profound interest. Justice Brown gave at great length the grounds upon which he based his decision. He said:

"The practical construction put by Congress upon the Constitution has been long continued and uniform, to the effect that the Constitution is applicable to territories acquired by purchase or conquest only when and so far as Congress shall so direct. Notwithstanding its duty 'to guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government,' Congress did not hesitate in the original organization of the Territories of Louisiana, Florida, the Northwest Territory and its subdivisions of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and still more recently in the case of Alaska, to establish a form of government bearing a much greater analogy to a British crown colony than a republican state of America, and to vest the legislative power either in a governor and council, or a governor and judges, to be appointed by the President.

"We are also of the opinion that power to acquire territory by treaty implies not only the power to govern such territory, but to prescribe upon what terms the United States will receive its inhabitants, and what their status shall be in what Chief Justice Marshall termed the 'American Empire.'

"There seems to be no middle ground between this position and the doctrine that if their inhabitants do not become immediately after annexation citizens of the United States, their children, thereafter born, whether savages or civilized, are such and entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens. If such be their status, the consequences will be extremely serious. Indeed, it is doubtful if Congress would ever assent to the annexation of territory upon the condition that its inhabitants, however foreign they may be to our habits, traditions, and modes of life, shall become at once citizens of the United States. In all its treaties hitherto the treaty-making power has made special provision for this subject.

"Grave apprehensions of danger are felt by many eminent men—a fear lest an unrestrained possession of power on the part of Congress may lead to unjust and oppressive legislation, in which the natural rights of territories or their inhabitants may be engulfed in a centralized despotism. These fears, however, find no justification in the action of Congress in the last century, nor in the conduct of the British parliament toward its outlying possessions since the American Revolution.

"Whatever may be finally decided by the American people as to the status of these islands and their inhabitants—whether they shall be introduced into the sisterhood of States or be permitted to form independent governments—it does not follow that in the meantime, awaiting that decision, the people are in the matter of personal rights unprotected by the provisions of our Constitution and subject to the merely arbitrary control of Congress. Even if regarded as aliens, they are entitled under the principles of the Constitution to be protected in life, liberty, and property."

As has been stated, Chief Justice Fuller dissented and was joined in the dissent by Associate Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham. The Chief Justice quoted from Chief Justice Marshall the following interpretation of the Constitution which requires that "all duties, imports, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States":

"Does this term (the United States) designate the whole or any portion of the

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American empire? Certainly this question can admit of but one answer. It is the name given to our great republic, which is composed of States and Territories. The District of Columbia, or the territory west of the Mississippi, Missouri, is not less within the United States than Maryland or Pennsylvania; and it is not less necessary, on the principles of our Constitution, that uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties, and excises should be observed in the one than in the other. Since, then, the power to lay and collect taxes, which includes direct taxes, is obviously coextensive with the power to lay and collect duties, imposts, and excises, and since the latter extends throughout the United States, it follows that the power to impose direct taxes also extends throughout the United States."

To the objection that this statement of Chief Justice Marshall is mere obiter dictum (an incidental and collateral opinion), Chief Justice Fuller replied:

"It is wholly inadmissible to reject the process of reasoning by which the Chief Justice reached and tested the soundness of his conclusion as merely obiter. . . . . The Chief Justice held the Territories, as well as the District, to be part of the United States for the purpose of national taxation, and repeated in effect what he had already said in McCulloch agt. Maryland, 4 Wheaton, 408: 'Throughout this vast republic, from the St. Croix to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, revenue is to be collected and expended, armies are to be marched and supported.'"

As to the contention that by international law Porto Rico when it came to us was subject to such legislation as Congress might enact, Chief Justice Fuller said:

"The new master was, in this instance, the United States, a constitutional government with limited powers; and the terms which the Constitution itself imposed, or which might be imposed in accordance with the Constitution, were the terms on which the new master took possession.

"The power of the United States to acquire territory by conquest, by treaty, or by discovery and occupation, is not disputed; nor is the proposition that in all international relations, interests, and responsibilities the United States is a separate, independent, and sovereign nation; but it does not derive its powers from the international law, which, though a part of our municipal law, is not a part of the organic law of the land. The source of national power in this country is the Constitution of the United States; and the government, as to our internal affairs, possesses no inherent sovereign power not derived from that instrument, and inconsistent with its letter and spirit."

Justice Harlan, one of the dissentient Judges, said:

"In my opinion, Congress has no existence and can exercise no authority outside of the Constitution. Still less is it true that Congress can deal with new territories just as other nations have done or may do with their new territories. This nation is under the control of a written constitution, which is the supreme law of the land, and the only source of the powers which our government, or any branch or officer of it, may exercise at any time or at any place. The idea that this country may acquire territory anywhere upon the earth by conquest or treaty, and hold it as mere colonies or provinces,

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is wholly inconsistent with the spirit and genius, as well as with the words of the Constitution. . . .

"The 'expanding future of our country,' justifying the belief that the United States is to become what is called a 'world power'—of which so much was heard at the argument—does not justify any such juggling with the words of the Constitution as would authorize the courts to hold that the words 'throughout the United States,' in the taxing clause of the Constitution, do not embrace a 'territory of the United States.' This is a distinction which I am unable to make, and which I do not think ought to be made, when we are endeavoring to ascertain the meaning of a great instrument of government."

Summed up, the results of this decision are:

1. The United States Constitution does not, proprio vigore, extend to all territory acquired by the United States.

2. Congress has full power to make laws for territory possessed by the United States.

3. Customs duties were wrongfully collected on imports into the United States from Porto Rico after ratification of the treaty of peace and before the taking effect of the Foraker act, and on imports from the Philippines since ratification of the treaty of peace.

The question of the validity of the President's act in extending to Porto Rico and Hawaii the privileges and advantages of the American navigation laws was involved in one of the questions brought before the Supreme Court. The act of the President in doing this was sustained by the court. This being the fact, it would seem that no valid reason existed for denying the same privileges to the Philippines, but self-interest is one of the most potent factors in congressional legislation. A member feels that his first duty is to his constituents, and thus influenced, he is often deaf to reason or argument. "How can I expect my fellow-citizens to elect me to Congress unless I convince them that I am wholly and uncompromisingly devoted to their interests?" When American shipowners declared that the favor named, extended to the Philippines, would injure domestic shipping interests, the assertion was accepted as an all-powerful argument in favor of evading the provision.

Naturally the Supreme Court decision attacted wide attention and was praised or condemned according to the respective views of public policy. One fact was significant,—the decision was non-partisan, one of the Democratic Justices having taken the side of the government on the main question, while two Republicans joined the dissenting minority.

Among the various opinions expressed the following from William Jennings Bryan is worth quoting:

"This is one of the most important decisions, if not the most important, ever rendered by the court; it not only declares that Congress is greater than the Constitution which created it—the creature greater than the creator—but it denies the necessity for a written constitution. The position taken by the court is defended, or rather excused, by reasoning which, if followed out, will destroy constitutional liberty in the United States. Every reason given by Justice Brown could be used with even more

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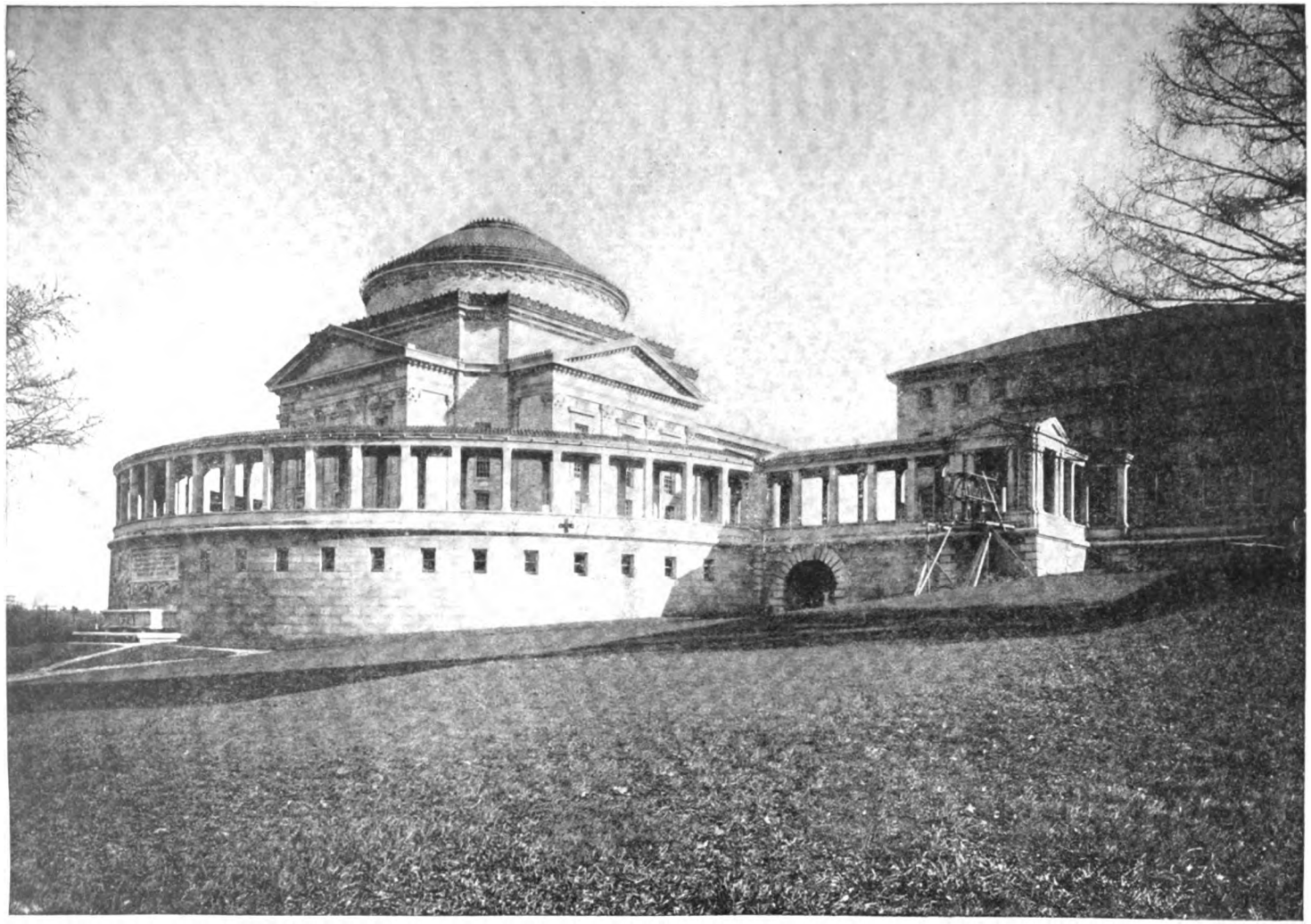

THE HALL OF FAME, UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK.

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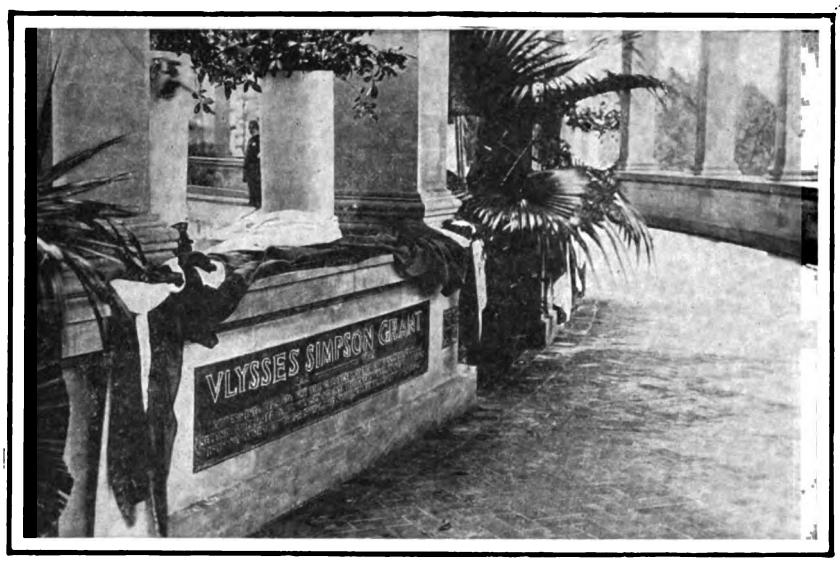
force to support a decision nullifying all limitations placed by the Constitution on Congress when dealing with the citizens of the several States.

"If the Porto Ricans can trust the wisdom and justice of a Congress which they do not elect and cannot remove, why do the people of the United States need a Constitution to protect them from a Congress which they do elect and can remove? This decision in effect declares that the people are not the source of power; it defends taxation without representation, and denies that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The Hall of Fame for Great Americans is intended to be a monument of the greatness of America in the arts of peace and war. It was completed in 1900 and stands on the western verge of the plateau of Morris Heights, on the grounds of the New York University, in the city of New York. It consists of a colonnade 500 feet long, in the 150 panels of which are to be carved the names of the eminent Americans selected to repre-



GENERAL GRANT'S TABLET, WHOSE ONLY FLORAL DECORATION WAS LAID ON IT BY A SOUTHERN WOMAN.

sent the loftiest types of American greatness, genius and worth. No names are to be inscribed, except of persons born in the present territory of the United States, and these not until ten years after the person's death.

On October 12, 1900, the votes of the 100 judges chosen to name the 30 great Americans for commemoration were counted. Ninety-seven of the judges were present. Only 29 names were selected, the respective votes being as follows:

George Washington	97	John Marshall	91
Abraham Lincoln	96	Thomas Jefferson	90
Daniel Webster	96	Ralph Waldo Emerson	87
Benjamin Franklin	94	Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	85
Ulysses S. Grant	92	Robert Fulton	85

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Washington Irving	83	John James Audubon	67
Jonathan Edwards	81	Horace Mann	67
Samuel F. B. Morse	80	Henry Ward Beecher	66
David Glasgow Farragut	79	James Kent	65
Henry Clay	74	Joseph Story	64
Nathaniel Hawthorne	73	John Adams	61
George Peabody	72	William Ellery Channing	58
Robert E. Lee	69	Gilbert Stuart	52
Peter Cooper	69	Asa Gray	51
Eli Whitney	67		

The list above was selected by the judges from 234 names submitted to them. Two years from the date of this selection, 21 more names were to be chosen, after which five names are to be selected every five years until the 150 places in the Hall of Fame are filled. This action was afterward reconsidered and the election postponed to 1905, when eleven names were added to the list, as follows:

Alexander Hamilton	88	James Madison	56
Louis Agassiz	83	John Paul Jones	55
John Quincy Adams	60	John Greenleaf Whittier	53
James Russell Lowell	59	Emma Willard	50
Mary Lyon	59	Maria Mitchell	48
William Tecumseh Sherman	58		

No country in the world is growing more rapidly in population than our own. According to the census of 1900, our population, including that of our outlying possessions, was 84,233,069, distributed as follows: The United States proper, 75,994,575; Philippines, 6,961,339; Porto Rico, 953,243; Hawaii, 154,001; Alaska, 63,592; Guam, 9,000; American Samoa, 6,100; persons in the military and naval service of the United States outside of territory proper, 91,219.

Only three other countries exceed this population,—China, the British Empire and Russia. France, including its dependencies, has a population about the same as ours. The "Statistical Abstract of the United States," issued in February, 1902, contains many instructive facts. Thus, excluding Alaska and Hawaii, the area of our terrritory has grown from 827,844 square miles in 1800 to 3,025,600 in 1900, and the population from 5,308,483 to 75,693,724. At the opening of the nineteenth century, Virginia ranked first in population, and at the close of the century seventeenth, while Pennsylvania has never relaxed her grip upon second place. In 1800, New York was third and to-day it is first. Other shiftings about were: North Carolina from fourth to fifteenth; Kentucky from eighth to twenty-ninth; Delaware from seventeenth to forty-sixth; Indiana from twenty-first to eighth; and Ohio from eighteenth to fourth.

The public debt of the United States in 1865 was $78.25 per capita, and in 1901, $13 45, while the interest charge was respectively $4.29, and 38 cents per capita. In 1820, the deposits in the savings banks were $1,138,576 and the number of depositors,

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8,635. These figures, in 1904, reached the stupendous proportions of $3,060,178,611 and $7,305,443. In 1820, the amount due each depositor was $131.86; in 1904, $418.89.

The transactions of the New York clearing house in 1854 embraced fifty banks with a capital of forty-seven million dollars, and the clearings $5,750,455,987. In 1904, the number of banks had increased to fifty-three and their capital to one hundred and sixteen millions, but the clearings attained the inconceivable total of $59,672,796,804.

In 1800, our imports were ninety-one millions and the exports seventy-one millions. In 1903, the imports were $991,000,000 and the exports $1,460,000,000. In 1800, the imports exceeded the exports by thirty per cent.; in 1901, the exports exceeded the imports by fifty per cent.

The "Year Book" of the London *Daily Mail*, compiled with great care, shows the relative wealth of the leading nations; their national debts, their production of the chief cereals and their standing in the strife for the "iron trade."

United States	£16,350,000,000	France	£9,690,000,000
United Kingdom	11,806,000,000	Germany	8,052,000,000
Russia	£6,425,000,000		

Their respective national debts are:

United States	$925,000,000	United Kingdom	$3,885,000,000
Germany	699,000,000	Russia	3,414,000,000
France	$5,856,000,000		

The United States has steadily gained in the battle of commercial competitions, while England and Germany have hardly held their own. The pig-iron production in 1903 was:

	Tons.		Tons.
United States	18,297,400	Germany	10,085,634
United Kingdom	8,952,183	France	2,827,668
Russia	2,210,000		

And that of steel:

	Tons.		Tons.
United States	14,756,691	Germany	8,801,515
Great Britain	5,114,647	France	1,854,620
Russia	1,525,000		

The gold production of the United States in 1903 was valued at $73,591,700. Colorado held a long lead with $22,590,000, and California next with, $16,104,500. The other States and Territories producing over one million dollars each, were: Alaska, $8,614,700; Arizona, $4,357,600; Idaho, $1,570,400; Montana, $4,411,900; Nevada, $3,388,000; Oregon, $1,290,200; South Dakota, $6,826,700; Utah, $3,697,400.

The production of silver, the next precious metal, was 54,300,000 ounces. Colorado yielded $7,014,708; Arizona, $1,829,034; Idaho, $3,513,996; Montana, $6,826,842; Nevada, $2,727,270; Utah, $6,046,272.

No doubt the pension system of our country contains a great amount of fraud and dishonesty, but the dread of doing injustice to those who helped the country during the

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stupendous struggle for the Union, as well as the fear in many quarters of alienating the "soldier vote," have led to an unprotesting acceptance of these frauds. Every political platform makes a bid for the soldier vote; no public speaker dare attack the fraudulent pensions, even though he knows of scores of instances which are neither more nor less than downright stealing. Many a man who never heard a hostile shot fired has been drawing his pension for years, and will continue to do so as long as he lives. Investigations have shown that men who left the army at the close of the war, stronger, sturdier and in better health than ever before, have met with some accident, have fallen into dissipation or contracted some disease, due wholly to other causes than war, yet straightway they apply for and obtain pensions for injuries or disease caused by service in the army. To illustrate, it came to light that one person was receiving a pension on account of baldness, and the writer knows of another in which the recipient had a trifling injury to his little finger, of which not even the scar remained. There are thousands of such cases, and yet on the first move to bring the criminal to justice, a hue and cry is raised against the one who initiates the action, and he is howled down as an enemy of the old soldiers, who risked their lives and received grievous injuries while serving their country.

No one questions the duty of the government to pay the patriotic veterans for the work they did, for its value is beyond measure, but it is one of the burning disgraces of the time that multitudes of worthless persons, who have not the first claim to remembrance, draw a steady income from the fund that was never intended for such as they.

If anyone is disposed to question the truthfulness of these statements, let him analyze the following official figures.

Think of the few leaders on either side of the great contest of 1861–65, who are still living. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Farragut and a host of others, passed away long ago. The mortality among the privates has been proportionately great, and yet the number of pensioners has steadily increased with nearly each year. At the end of June, 1904, the names on the rolls were 994,762, including 16,829 from the war with Spain. The pensioners are classed: invalids, 730,315; widows, etc., 274,447. There were 55,794 claimants for pensions during the year, and 44, 296 claims were allowed. The total pension disbursements for 1904 were $142,092,818.75. This included one widow and two daughters of Revolutionary soldiers, and one survivor of the War of 1812, Hiram Cronk, who died in 1905 in his 105th year.

The statement gives the following amounts of money paid pensioners under different administrations:

President Grant's first term	$119,450,419
Average per year	29,832,805
President Grant's second term	117,208,621
Average per year	29,302,155
President Hayes's administration	168,492,019
Average per year	42,123,005
President Garfield's administration	237,695,494
Average per year	59,423,873

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President Cleveland's first term	308,177,870
Average per year	77,044,467
President Harrison's administration	524,285,139
Average per year	131,071,285
President Cleveland's second term	561,857,371
Average per year	140.464,343
President McKinley's first term	564,195.316
Average per year	141,048,829
President Roosevelt's first term (first three years)	419,474.728
Average per year	139,824.909

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CHAPTER XVI.

ROOSEVELT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1901–1904 (CONTINUED).—THE DANISH WEST INDIES.

WE never took any special interest in what is known as the Danish West Indies until after Porto Rico came into our possession as one of the results of the war with Spain. If you will look at the map, you will see several islands lying to the eastward of Porto Rico and named respectively St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix. They belong to the group known as the Virgin Islands, some of which are owned by Great Britain.

The most important of the three is St. Thomas, which lies thirty-eight miles east of Porto Rico. Its area is hardly forty square miles and its population less than twenty thousand. The surface is hilly and poor and water is very scarce. The chief town on the island, Charlotte Amalie, is obliged to depend upon tanks for its supply of water. This town contains three-fourths of the population of the island, whose few inhabitants are engaged in the cultivation of grass, vegetables and a little cotton, but the products are

HIGHWAY ACROSS THE ISLAND OF SANTA CRUZ.

so meager that nothing is exported. The town, known more generally as St. Thomas, is a station for steam packets from Southampton to the West Indies, and has a fine harbor.

St. Croix, or Santa Cruz, is the largest of the Virgin group, with an area of about a hundred square miles and a population of twenty-seven thousand. It has been owned successively by the Dutch, English, Spanish and French, the last of whom sold it to Denmark in 1733. The remaining island, St. John, is insignificant.

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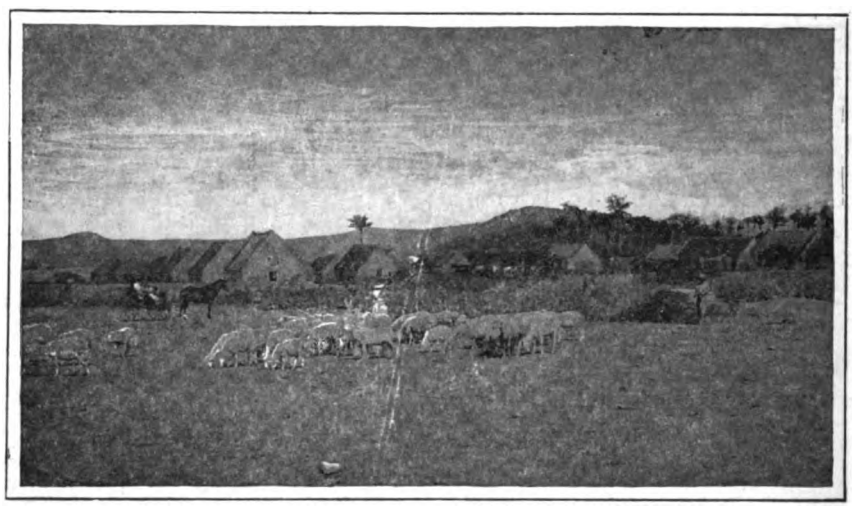
A proposition was made in 1867 by Denmark to sell the three islands named to the United States, and Secretary Seward favored the project, but the Senate did not confirm the treaty. Following the war with Spain, however, the negotiations were renewed and carried on for two or three years, everything being complete except the necessary appropriation by Congress. The price offered to the Danish government by our minister to Denmark was 12,000,000 kroner, equivalent to about $3,240,000. But for a change of ministry in Copenhagen, the transaction, no doubt, would have been completed in the early part of 1900. The islands have been a financial drag upon Denmark for years, and she is more than willing to sell them. You will readily see, from their location, how disadvantageous it would be to us for some government to purchase them, now that Porto Rico is ours and would require protection in the event of war.

In the latter part of March, 1901, it was stated that Denmark had communicated to the United States the conditions on which she would sell her West India Islands to us. It was said that she made four conditions: 1, the price was to be $4,000,000; 2, a refer-



SEA-COAST PLANTATION NEAR SANTA CRUZ.

endum of the people of the islands was to be taken on the transfer; 3, if the referendum proved favorable to the transfer, the people were to become immediately not only American subjects, but American citizens; 4, products of the islands were to be admitted to the United States free of duty.

As was to be expected, these rumors, although persistently circulated, proved to be not wholly reliable. In September, it was said that the new Danish ministry had accepted the terms offered by the United States, but the report was found premature, though there was little doubt that the transfer, sooner or later, would be consummated. Our government left the matter almost wholly in the hands of Minister Swenson, and the tenor of his dispatches was that before long he would be asked to arrange a treaty to submit to the next session of Congress. The latest dispatches gave the price set for the islands as $4,800,000, but it was believed that the deal could be made for consider-

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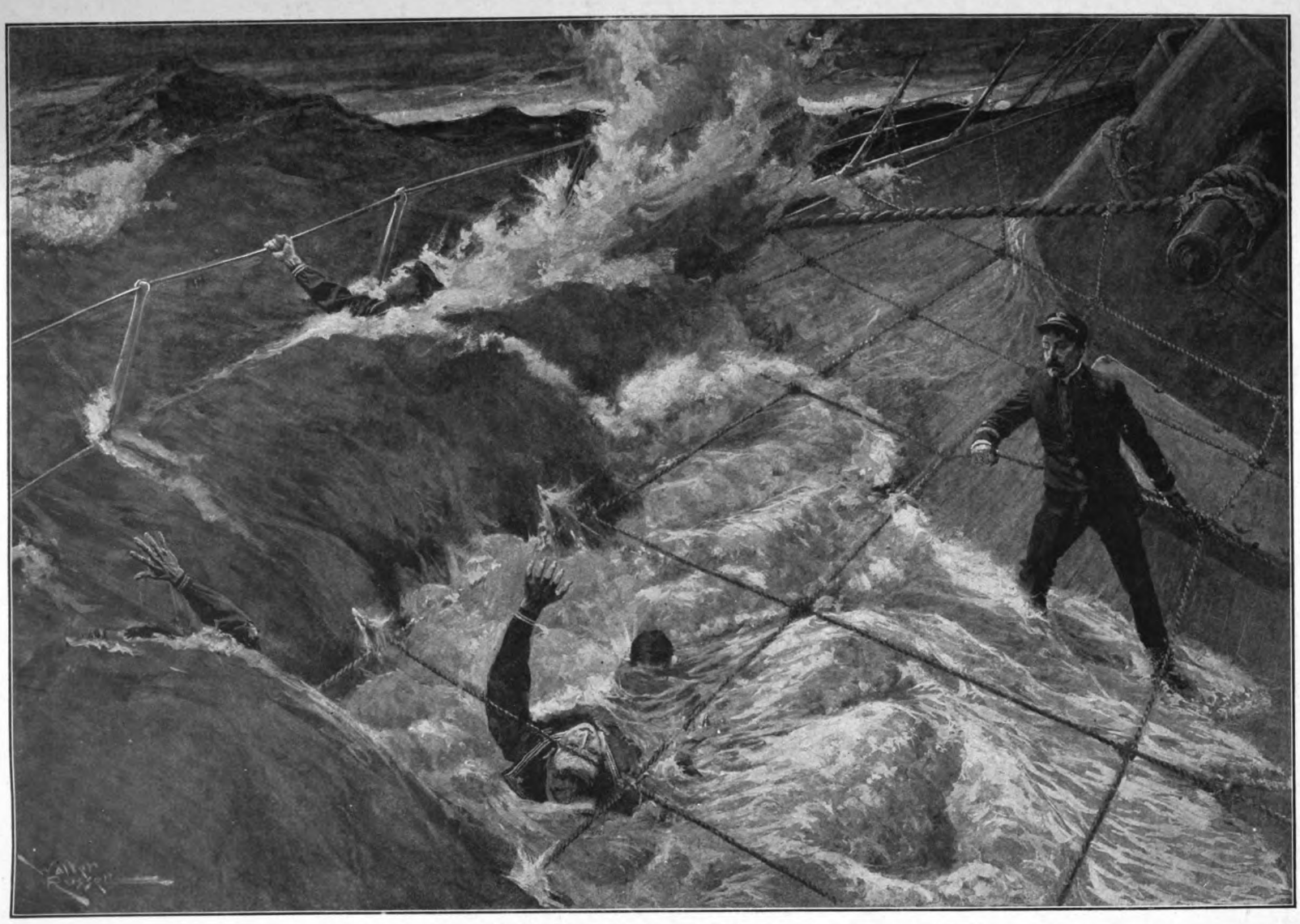

THE U. S. CRUISER "NEW YORK" IN A HURRICANE OFF CAPE HATTERAS

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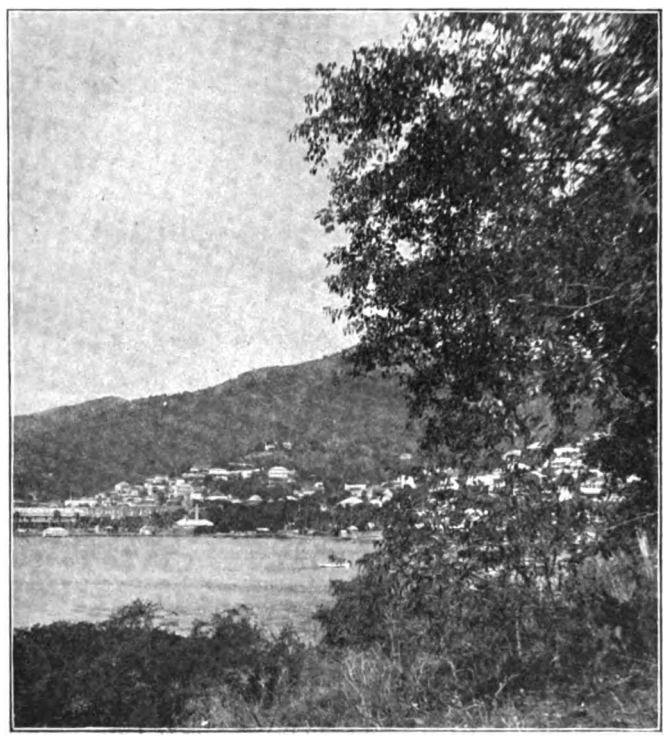
ably less than that sum. The treaty when perfected would require the action of both houses of Congress, since the House would have to provide the necessary funds for the appropriation.

When all seemed to be smooth sailing, an unexpected obstacle arose in Denmark itself, due, it was said, to the opposition of a member of the royal family closely connected with the commercial interests, which were displeased with the proposed sale. A new ministry had come into power, and much of the ground had to be gone over anew. The correspondent of a leading newspaper in New York said:

"The Dan, the aristocratic and representative club of St. Thomas, has on behalf of the inhabitants of the Danish West Indies just forwarded a petition to King Christian protesting against the proposed sale of the islands. The petition states that it is hoped that Germany, 'which already has a score to settle with America,' may prevent the



VIEW OF ST. THOMAS.

consummation of the sale in the last moment. It is also alleged that a syndicate of American capitalists is buying up all the plantations, in order to create a monopoly in West Indian beet sugar and with a view to throttling all local opposition to the sale."

When Congress assembled, however, the reports were renewed that satisfactory arrangements had been completed between the two governments, and the transfer of the islands was one of the certainties of the immediate future. But these reports proved disappointing. The London papers of the middle of December described the increasing agitation in Copenhagen against the sale of the islands without first sub-

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mitting the question to a popular vote, while the ministerial organs were urging prompt action regardless of the clamor. Before the close of the month, a petition bearing 850 signatures was presented to King Christian and the cabinet against the deal. The inspiration of this movement was the moneyed interests, which left no stone unturned to avert what they believed would prove a serious blow to their trade. Not only did they engineer the petition referred to, but promised to draw up certain proposals to be submitted to the Rigsdag, or governing body, as soon as it reassembled. The government was placed in an embarrassing position, for it knew a good deal of the opposition was manufactured. You need not be reminded how readily names can be obtained to any petition, and nothing was more certain than that many of those who had signed the protest, as well as many who were crying out their opposition in the loudest voices, had no personal concern in the matter, but were employed by speculators and promoters, who saw a chance of gaining something for themselves in the impending transaction.

Meanwhile, opposition to the transfer made its appearance in the islands themselves, where the agents of the speculators were busy. A large demonstration took place at Christiansted, in the island of St. Croix, on the 26th of December, when resolutions were adopted urging Denmark to introduce improvements and reforms in the islands and lift them out of the humiliations of the past. It was insisted that the leading citizens of the islands, mainly the natives of standing, merchants, planters and Danish subjects generally, demanded that they be not sold, but that reforms, commercial, industrial and social be instituted under the Danish flag, and they expressed their confidence that their prayer would be attentively considered by King Christian.

Despite all this, it was confidently believed that the majority of the people in the islands favored their sale to the United States. The last vote taken on the question was in 1868, when the islands of St. Thomas and St. John were polled, The former was unanimous for cession, while in St. John, out of a vote of 1,061, only 22 were recorded against it. There was no reason to believe that a wholly uninfluenced vote would show any material change of sentiment.

The treaty between the United States and Denmark for the sale of the islands was signed at Washington, January 24, 1902, by Secretary Hay and Constantine Brum, the Danish minister. The price named was $5,000,000, and the treaty required ratification by the United States Senate and the Rigsdag. It was stated at the time that the area of the three islands was 127 square miles and the population 30,000, of whom the whites form fifteen per cent., the rest being mulattoes and negroes. The islands are the home of miscegenation, intermarriage between the whites and blacks being very common. Although Danish is the official language, English is spoken by all and is used both in the schools and in the courts of justice.

Unexpectedly to this country, the Danish Parliament adjourned until September, without taking any action on the treaty for the sale of the islands, and since the time allowed for the ratification of the original agreement expired on July 24, 1902, an extension became necessary to prevent the project falling through. Our State Department proposed to extend for a year the lifetime of the treaty, that is, until July, 1903, and this proposal was accepted by King Christian, on the advice of Premier Deuntzer. The

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treaty went to the Senate in February and was ratified on the 17th of that month after a brief discussion and without a vote in the negative.

A bombshell was exploded in the House of Representatives on March 27, by James D. Richardson of Tennessee, pending ratification of the treaty at Copenhagen. He called to the attention of the House an astounding story by Captain Christmas of bribery, and fiercely demanded an investigation. This was promptly made and exploded the preposterous statement of Christmas and roused wonder that a man of Mr. Richardson's years and experience could have been so deceived and misled. While it is hardly to be supposed that action in Denmark was obstructed by this flurry, it could not fail to delay negotiation. Nevertheless, the transfer of the islands to the United States is one of the certainties of the immediate future.

In the chapter devoted to the Isthmian canal and its prospects, attention was called to the perils to which the Nicaraguan route is exposed from volcanoes. The appalling outburst in the island of Martinique, one of the most awful in the history of the world, gave an importance to this subject which would have been impossible otherwise. This was increased rather than diminished by the declaration of United States Senator John T. Morgan, an uncompromising advocate of the Nicaragua route, which he declared in the strongest terms was an absolutely safe one, and to be preferred in every respect to that of Panama. Central American newspapers of the latter part of May, 1902, failed to justify the boundless confidence of Senator Morgan, and confirmed the accounts of the action of the volcanoes which had been received by way of New Orleans. These referred mainly to the action of Momotombo and the accompanying earthquake, and the widespread panic in that section, as well as the terrifying display of this volcano, which dominates the waters of Lake Managua, that is directly joined to Lake Nicaragua. It was stated that the neighboring volcano of Asososca had been in continuous eruption since March 24, and had poured forth torrents of red-hot lava. This was startling in view of the many assurances that these volcanoes were extinct, and that for years there had not been the slightest danger from their action, for precisely the same statements had been made regarding Pelée in Martinique. These facts seemed to leave as the only refuge to the friends of the Nicaraguan route the claim that that of Panama was equally dangerous.

But the best authorities say there are no volcanoes on the Isthmus of Panama. Nevertheless, a prominent newspaper made the following declaration:

"In Colombia, however, and right on the Panama canal route, there have been volcanic excitements of much more recent date. The cathedral façade at Panama was destroyed and its columns thrown down in an earthquake less than twenty years ago, on September 7, 1882. And at Mount Batan, near Sogamoso, in Colombia, the subterranean heat is so intense all the time as to affect the local climate. These two facts alone are of immense significance as to volcanic dangers to the Panama canal, when it is remembered that the deep cut there is to be deeper than the worst cut on the Nicaragua route, which is seventy-seven miles east of the lake, where the volcanic action of the past has appeared."

Investigation, however, shows that the volcano of Sogamoso is not on the isthmus,

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but in central Colombia, five hundred miles in a straight line from the nearest point on the Panama route. Omotepe, in Lake Nicaragua, is ninety miles nearer the Panama route than the other tremendous volcano referred to under the name of Mount Batan, while Momotombo, lately in eruption, is nearer to the Panama canal than Mount Batan at Sogamoso.

On May 31, 1902, the report of the minority of the committee on Interoceanic Canals was presented to the United States Senate by Senator Kittridge. It was lengthy and dealt fully with every feature of the canal question. In nearly every instance the minority based their findings upon the official report and testimony of the members of the Isthmian commission.

The amendment of Senator Spooner left the selection of the route with the President, and the minority recommended that this resolution be adopted. They declared that the Panama route was superior in all respects to the Nicaragua, and advised that the report of the Isthmian canal question commission be followed in all technical questions as being that of the highest competent experts.

The minority declared further that the commission's earlier reports in favor of the Nicaragua route were due to the fact that at that time it was impossible to acquire the property and concessions of the Panama canal company at a reasonable price. This is pronounced the best route for an Isthmian canal to be opened, constructed, controlled and protected by the United States. As to the engineering features of the respective routes, the testimony of the engineers of the Isthmian commission was strongly in favor of the construction of a canal by the Panama route. As to the possibility of destruction or damage to the locks or dams of the canal from volcanic eruptions, or from earthquakes, the facts showed that the Nicaragua course lies directly in line with many volcanoes, some of which are active and have wrought great destruction in the past, and the whole country through which the Nicaragua route passes has been often disrupted by earthquakes, while the Panama route has no volcanoes, extinct or otherwise, nearer than two hundred miles, and the official record of such disturbances for the last two years is one-tenth of those reported in the vicinity of the Nicaragua route, while much less in violence than those felt at the latter place.

A thorough examination of official reports and all reliable sources of information left no doubt in the minds of the minority of the superiority of the Panama route over the other. One marked practical advantage lies in the time of passage of the two canals. The Panama canal by reason of its short length allows the passage of a vessel entirely during twelve hours of daylight, while the Nicaragua route because of its great length would use fifty-seven hours, or two days and a half, in passing through it.

The report of the Isthmian commission gave thirty-three hours as all the time needed to pass through the Nicaragua canal, but the minority showed that this meant thirty-three hours of continuous steaming, and that it should be based on the actual time required by a vessel proceeding for twelve hours by daylight, tying up at night; and making the rest of the passage in nine hours on the third day, going a total of fifty-seven hours.

It was further claimed by the minority that the way was not clear by which the

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United States was to obtain a right of way through Nicaragua. The testimony before the committee on interoceanic canal showed that several companies laid claim by reason of concessions from Nicaragua, direct purchases of land for cash, and by other conveyances, of the right of way for an interoceanic canal, and that the officers and stockholders of the several companies stated under oath to the committee that they expected to be paid in full by the United States for all their rights. Similar conditions existed at Costa Rica, and because of these claims, long and expensive litigation was inevitable before the United States could gain a clear title to the right of way for a canal, with every reason to believe that it would require several million dollars to satisfy some of these claims.

The legal questions involved were of great importance, but the minority expressed themselves, after an exhaustive examination of all documents bearing on the matter, as being convinced that the Panama Canal Company could give to the United States a perfect title to all its property without delay or litigation of any kind; that it had the full necessary consent from Colombia as to the transfer of its concessions, and that the government of Colombia was faithfully co-operating with the Panama Canal Company in its proposal to sell its rights and property to the United States.

In June, 1902, the "Spooner act," passed by Congress, made a provision for a canal along the Panama route, but in case this could not be secured, the Nicaragua route was the alternative. Authority was given the President to purchase the uncompleted canal, begun twenty years before, for the sum of $40,000,000. Now, since Panama was owned by Colombia, it was necessary to gain the consent of the latter government to the transaction, one provision of which was that our government should have control of a strip of land six miles in width, inclosing the canal all the way across the Isthmus. It followed, as a matter of course, that the canal itself would be the exclusive property of the United States. In January, 1903, these conditions were accepted by the Colombian minister at Washington.

The United States bound itself to pay a bonus of $10,000,000 to Colombia, and also a rental of $250,000 annually. The prospect of receiving such an immense sum of money set the Colombians wild, and their greed ran away with them. "The United States is the richest nation in the world," they whispered eagerly to one another, "the bonus is well enough in its way, but we can get that $40,000,000 in addition, enough to make us leaders wealthy. All we have to do is to persuade our legislators to reject the treaty."

The suicidal folly was committed, the treaty being rejected by the Colombian Congress in August, 1903. Panama was determined to have the canal, and since Colombia refused it, she now rebelled, declared herself independent and offered to treat directly with the United States for the construction of the work. Our government knew of the coming revolt, and it has been charged and denied that she secretly aided in fomenting it. Be that as it may, the United States forces, under the plea that the treaty stipulations compelled them to keep order along the Panama railway, would not permit the landing of any Colombian soldiers to put down the rebellion. The United States made haste to acknowledge the independence of the new nation, and Colombia, who in her greed to get that which did not belong to her spurned the generous sum

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that was hers for the taking, as a result, lost everything. There is a tremendous moral in the incident.

The United States Senate ratified the treaty in February, 1904. Thus every obstacle to the construction of the canal was removed. In the following May all the property of the Panama Company was transferred to the United States, and $40,000,000 was deposited with prominent bankers in New York, who agreed to disburse it in accordance with the decisions of the French courts. The completion of one of the greatest public enterprises of the century was therefore assured, as well as its ownership and control by our own government. Following the ratification of the treaty Congress passed an act providing for the temporary goverment of the canal zone by officers to be appointed by the President. He appointed as members of the Isthmian Canal Commission, to take charge of the construction of the canal and the government of the canal zone, the following persons: Rear-Admiral John G. Walker, retired, Chairman; Major-General George W. Davis, U. S. N. retired; William Barclay Parsons, New York; William H. Burr, New York; Benjamin M. Harrod, Louisiana; Carl Ewald Crunsky, California, and Frank J. Hecker, Michigan. Mr. John F. Wallace, General Manager of the Illinois Railroad System, was appointed Chief Engineer of the canal.

On April 22, the Panama Canal Company's rights were duly transferred, at Paris, to the United States. On May 9, the company was paid $40,000,000 by a warrant of the Secretary of the Treasury, and on the same day the Republic of Panama received the stipulated $10,000,000. The President decided that the Panama Commission should report through the War Department. General Davis of the Commission was made governor of the canal zone, and soon appointed new mayors and other officials for the municipalities lying within the zone. In November, at the direction of the President, the Secretary of War visited Panama to confer with the authorities of the Republic, and settle any questions which might arise in reference to the administration of the zone. His mission had excellent practical results in provision for the care of those engaged in work on the Isthmus.

It soon became evident that a better organization of the Commission was imperative. For this purpose the old Commissioners were requested to resign their positions, and promptly complied. The same number of Commissioners was retained, but the management was practically centered in an executive committee of three members, to the chairmanship of which the President appointed a hitherto unknown man, Theodore P. Shonts, head of the Toledo, St. Louis and Western line. Mr. Wallace became a member of the Commission. The new appointees were Rear-Admiral Endicott, Brigadier-General Peter C. Hains, Colonel Oswald H. Ernst and Judge Charles E. Magoon, previously an official of the War Department, who was made also governor of the canal zone. Provision was made for a consulting board of thirteen engineers, and the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the Netherlands were invited each to assign a distinguished engineer to consult with the American members.

In June, 1905, Mr. Wallace suddenly announced his proposed retirement from this position in order to accept one more lucrative. His resignation came at a singularly inopportune time and produced a scathing rebuke from Secretary Taft, with a demand

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for his immediate resignation. The post of Chief Engineer was at once filled by the selection of John F. Stevens of Maine.

The Consulting Board of Engineers carefully examined and considered the various plans proposed to and by the Isthmian Canal Commission and visited the isthmus to make direct observations. They met in Washington September 1, 1905, and began the preparation of their report. This was completed and presented to the Isthmian Canal Commission on the 10th of January, 1906, and by them transmitted to Congress through President Roosevelt on February 19. Eight members of the Board, including the five foreign engineers, favored a sea-level canal. The remaining five members voted in favor of a lock canal. Chief Engineer Stevens also favors the lock canal, as do five of the six members of the Canal Commission. The minority report was concurred in, too, by Secretary Taft and President Roosevelt, and it is probable that a lock canal will be built in accordance with the general plan recommended in the minority report. The estimated cost of each plan is as follows: for a sea-level canal, $247,021,000; for an 85-foot-level canal, $139,705,200.

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CHAPTER XVII.

ROOSEVELT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1901–1904—CONTINUED—FREE CUBA.

"THE most beautiful land ever beheld by human eyes," Christopher Columbus wrote in his diary, when, on October 28, 1492, he landed on the north coast of the island of Cuba. First of the New World to obtain eastern civilization, latest to get western freedom, every page of her history is crimsoned with blood.

"In the name of Spain," shouted Diego Velasquez, when, in the spring of 1511, he with the equally merciless Cortez and Las Casas, and his three hundred men, sailed from San Domingo and assailed the helpless Indians with the ferocity of so many tigers.

The fagots were already blistering the limbs of Hatuey, the Indian chief, when one of Velasquez's priests told him to pray that he might go to heaven.

"Where do the Spaniards go when they die?" asked the sufferer.

"To heaven," was the confident reply.

"Then I prefer to go to hell," said the grim victim, and so he died, with tenfold more assurance of a blessed hereafter than his bloodthirsty persecutors.

The first city founded in Cuba was Baracoa, and its founder was the Spanish murderer Velasquez, who dedicated it to Spain and placed it in charge of a Spanish garrison. The second city founded by Velasquez was St. James.

As I have shown, Spain was not only the most ferocious of taskmasters, but the most foolish of nations. She knew that all she had to do to retain the Pearl of the Antilles was to show its inhabitants half-decent treatment, and keep a part of the promises and pledges she made to them. She understood enough of human nature to comprehend that the worm can be persecuted into turning, and she kept up the persecution until, in the desperation of despair, it struck at the tyrant when it knew the blow would recoil upon its own head. It was in 1823 that the first serious revolt took place, and from that time forward the century was marked by plots, uprisings, suppression, massacres, rapine and violence, in which all mercy was thrown to the winds. The years 1826, 1830, 1848, 1850, 1851, 1855, 1868, 1879, 1885 and 1895 were marked by such uprisings, whose history is one long dismal tale of crime that was participated in by both sides, and shocked the civilized world.

Referring more at length to some of these numerous uprisings and the early history of Cuba, it should be said that from 1511 to 1607 the island was devastated by bloody wrangles among the Spanish officials and by the raids of pirates of all nations, who, skulking along the shores of the southern Atlantic, swooped down upon the seacoast towns and plundered them, and slew such inhabitants as remained. An historical event of this period was the departure from Havana of Hernando de Soto and his fleet, brought from Spain for the conquest of Florida.

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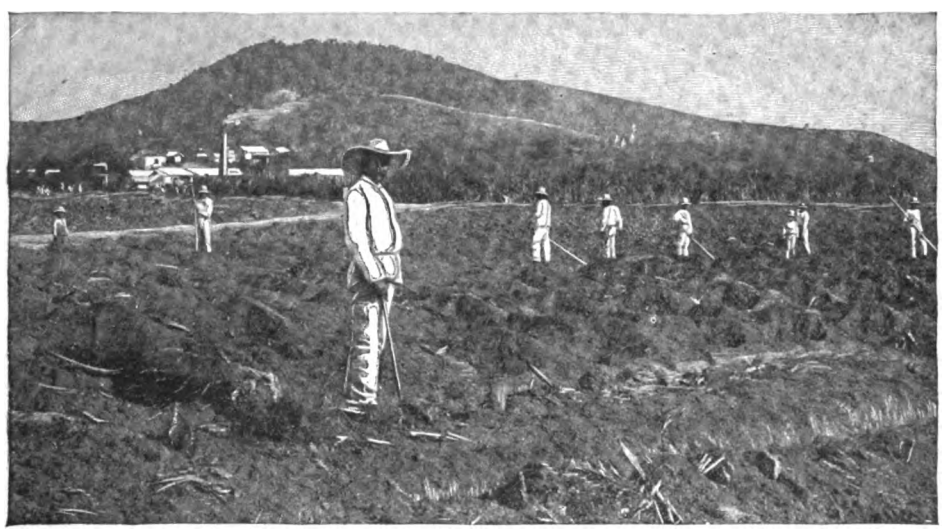
A dullness like that of death settled upon the island from 1607 to 1762, when an exciting occurrence awoke Spain to the value of the island. An English squadron with twenty thousand men under the Duke of Albemarle appeared off Havana and laid siege to the town, which was captured after a sturdy resistance. From that time until July, 1763, the British held the north of Cuba, imported negro labor, brought in a great deal of merchandise and gave the island a vigorous start on the road to development and wealth. The treaty of Paris, in 1763, gave Cuba back to Spain, and thenceforward it steadily progressed, and Spain, as might have been expected, began her series of blunders which drove the inhabitants to revolt. In 1823, a man named Lemus founded a society called "Soles," which laid extensive plans for an uprising that were never carried out. In 1829 the revolutionary conspiracy known as the "Black Eagles," in which many Mexicans were involved, was discovered and stamped out. In 1844 the blacks formed a plan, remarkable for its completeness, to kill all the whites on the island, but the plot was discovered and fearful punishment visited upon them.

Narciso Lopez with only three hundred men headed a daring but short-lived revolution in 1851, and then it was that Spain began to feel the exhausting drain upon her resources caused by the continual unrest in the island. This truth was driven home by



A PORTO RICAN SUGAR PLANTATION—CLEARING THE GROUND FOR A NEW CROP OF CANE.

the Ten Years' War, from 1868 to 1878. Finding it practically impossible to crush this formidable uprising, she resorted to the trick of making promises to grant the rights for which the Cubans were fighting. Some of them were skeptical, but were persuaded into trusting Spain once more.

Just what might have been expected followed. Spain broke her promises, and in 1895 the exasperated Cubans revolted again, swearing that this time the struggle should be to a finish. The war was a guerrilla one until matters were precipitated by the blowing up of the *Maine* in Havana harbor, followed by the war with which you have already become acquainted.

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No greater monsters were ever placed in charge of defenseless subjects than those that Spain sent to Cuba. To show that they were entirely free to work their own sweet will here is the exact wording of the royal decree of March, 1825, which gave to the captain-general of Cuba the powers of a despot:

"His Majesty the King, our lord, desiring to obviate the inconveniences which might result in extraordinary cases from a division of command, and from the inconveniences of power and prerogatives of the respective officers; for the important end of preserving in that precious island his legitimate sovereign authority and public tranquillity through proper means, has resolved, in accordance with the opinion of his council of Ministers, to give to your Excellency the fullest authority, bestowing upon you all the powers which by the royal ordinances are granted to the Governors of besieged cities. In consequence of this his Majesty gives to your Excellency the most complete and unbounded power, not only to send away from the island any persons in office, whatever be their occupation, rank, class or condition, whose conduct, public or private, may alarm you, replacing them with persons faithful to his Majesty, and deserving of all the confidence of your Excellency; but also to suspend the execution of any order whatsoever, or any general provision made concerning any branch of the administration as your Excellency may think most suitable to the royal service."

This decree was never recalled and remained in full force up to the day Spain was compelled to evacuate the island.

The most important of uprisings, until the final one, was that from 1868 to 1878, and which, as you know, was the Ten Years' War. During that frightful period, 145,000 natives gave up their lives and Spain lost nearly 200,000 men, the cost of the insurrection being placed at $1,000,000,000. Some 3,000 political prisoners were executed and 5,000 men captured by the Spaniards were never heard of again, which is only another way of saying they were murdered by a nation whose centuries of history show that she never learned the meaning of the word mercy.

The condition of Cuba finally became too horrible for endurance by other nations, or rather by the United States, which could not close its ears to the death wailings of the multitudes on her very threshold. On April 13, 1898, the following resolutions passed the Senate by a vote of 42 to 35 and the House by 311 yeas and 6 nays:

"*Whereas*, The abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the island of Cuba, so near our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating as they have in the destruction of a United States battleship with 266 of its officers and crew while on a friendly visit in the harbor of Havana, and cannot longer be endured, as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April 11, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited; therefore,

"*Resolved*, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled—

"First—That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

"Second—That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Govern-

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ment of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"Third—That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

"Fourth—That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is completed to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

The steps which led up to the grand action of the United States, on the 20th of May, 1902, were:

The Spanish evacuation of the island, the disarmament of the Cuban army effected by the payment of $3,000,000 to the army by our government, and the establishment of the provisional government. Early in January, 1899, General Brooke, the military governor-general of Cuba, under the provisional government, recognized the right of the natives to share in the rule which was preparatory to their own assumption of the reins in the future, by appointing Mario Menocal chief of police, and Perfecto Lacoste alcalde or mayor. General Brooke announced on January 16 his cabinet as follows: Domingo Mendez Capote, secretary of the Department of Government; Pablo Dosvernine, secretary of the Department of Finance; José Antonio Gonzales Lanuza, Department of Justice and Public Instruction; Adolfo Saenz Yanez, Department of Agriculture, Industry, Commerce and Public Works. The governors of the provinces were: General Fitzhugh Lee, Havana and Pinar del Rio; General James H. Wilson, Matanzas and Santa Clara; General Leonard Wood, Santiago and Puerto Principe. General William Ludlow took charge of the Department and City of Havana, which was distinct from the Province of Havana.

General Leonard Wood succeeded General Brooke as governor-general on December 20, 1899, and rapid progress was made in substituting civil for military rule. On June 15, 1900, elections were held for municipal offices and for delegates to the constitutional convention, September 15, all of which passed off in an orderly manner. General Wood said of the work done that year:

"All of the larger cities have undergone extensive street improvements; in fact, the change in that particular since the American occupation has been most remarkable. Travelers can go from one end of Cuba to the other without being solicited by beggars, and hunger is absolutely a thing of the past. A thoroughly efficient mail service has been provided, and is being conducted with efficiency and economy. Public works involving millions of dollars have been taken up and completed. Between six hundred and seven hundred miles of first-class roads have been built, and many hundreds of miles have been put in repair and made passable. A complete overland telegraph system has been put in operation through all the provinces. The financial condition of the country is excellent. The government is entirely self-supporting and the treasury

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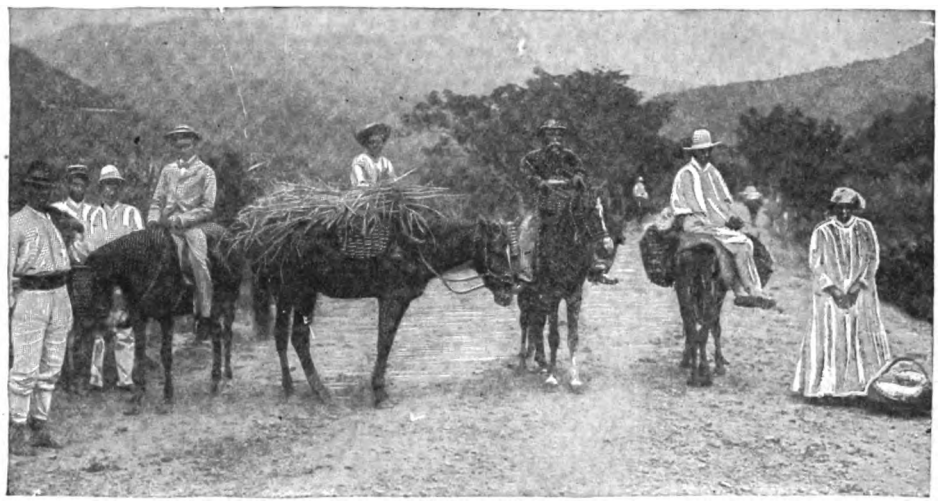
has an unincumbered balance of $1,500,000. Municipalities are gradually assuming their financial obligations and responsibilities, and relieving the state of the care and expense for police, sanitation, etc., which will result in more money being available for public works of general utility. In January and February all the prisons were overhauled and repaired, and their sanitary conditions vastly improved. Hundreds of prisoners detained for long periods awaiting trial have been released after being held as long as they would have been imprisoned if found guilty of the charges for which they were arrested. Justice has been stimulated by every means. Judges who have been found derelict have been summarily dismissed, and every effort is being made to impress upon the community at large that individual rights and individual liberty are the foundations of every good and stable government. Correctional courts have been established in the larger cities where the trial is oral and summary as in our police courts."

The Cuban Constitutional Convention assembled in Havana November 5, 1900, and adopted a constitution which provided for a republican form of government, a President



IN THE HILL COUNTRY OF PORTO RICO—A TYPICAL GROUP OF PEASANTS, WITH THEIR NATIVE PONIES.

and Vice-President, each to serve four years, and a Congress, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives, similar to our own.

The relations of Cuba to the United States were defined by what is known as the "Platt amendment," a resolution prepared by Senator Platt of Connecticut and passed by Congress on March 2, 1901. This amendment substantially is as follows:

First—That the Government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign Power or Powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any Power or Powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion of said island.

Second—That said government shall not assume or contract any public debt, to pay the interest upon which, and to make reasonable sinking fund provision for the

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ultimate discharge of which the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government, shall be inadequate.

Third—That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

Fourth—That all acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupation thereof are ratified and validated, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder shall be maintained and protected.

Fifth—That the government of Cuba will execute, and, so far as necessary, extend the plans already devised, or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein.

Sixth—That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto left to future adjustment by treaty.

Seventh—That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

Eighth—That by way of further assurance, the government of Cuba will embody the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the United States.

By a vote of 15 to 14, the Cuban Constitutional Convention, on May 28, 1901, voted to accept the amendment in a revised form, but this was not satisfactory to our government, and on June 12, by a vote of 16 to 11, the convention accepted the amendment without qualification.

General elections for presidential and senatorial electors, representatives in the lower house of Congress, and provincial governors and councilors were held on December 31, 1901. The electors met on February 24, 1902, and chose for the first President of the new republic General Tomas Estrada Palma, a man who had not been in Cuba for twenty years, though worthy in every way of the high honor conferred upon him. He was born in 1836, and was the son of a wealthy planter in southern Cuba, who educated him in the island and in Spain. He was hardly out of his teens when his sympathies were stirred by the persecutions and sufferings of his people, and, when the Ten Years' War broke out in 1868, he threw his whole energies into the struggle, displaying so much skill that in a few years he was made a general, and, toward the end of the conflict, became President of the provisional government that was established. He was made prisoner shortly after and taken to Spain, where he narrowly escaped with his life because of his refusal to take the oath of allegiance. All his estates and property in Cuba were confiscated. When the rebellion was crushed, he was set at liberty, and leaving the country, he vowed never to set foot in Cuba again until the Spanish were driven

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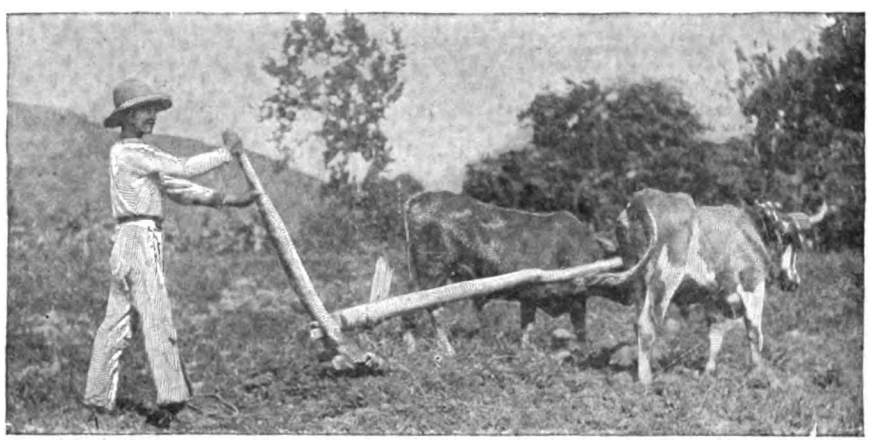
from the island. He spent several years in traveling through the Spanish-American countries, and in Honduras married the daughter of the president of the republic, and became postmaster-general. He afterward came to the United States with his wife and one child and opened a school in Central Valley, Orange County, N. Y., for young persons from the Spanish-American countries. Although he did not take the field, he did good work for his country in the final revolution. He was head of the "Junta" in New York, and never wearied in helping to carry out its purposes. He is of short, stocky figure, and speaks English fluently.

A census of the island taken in 1900 showed the total population to be 1,572,797, including 815,205 males and 757,592 females. The foreign white males were 115,760, and the females, 26,458. There were 111,898 male negroes and 122,740 females, so that the negroes constitute some 32 per cent. of the population. The mixed races numbered 125,500 males and 145,305 females, with 14,694 male and 163 female Chinese. The population of Havana city is 235,981.

Of the total population, according to citizenship, 20,478 were Spanish, 1,296,367 were Cuban, 175,811 are "in suspense," 79,526 are of other citizenship, and 616 are unknown. By birth the Spanish number 129,240; of the children ten years old and



PORTO RICAN AGRICULTURE—THE PRIMITIVE WOODEN PLOW DRAWN BY OXEN.

older, 49,414 have attended school and of the total population, 443,426 can read and write, while 19,158 have a superior education.

The area of the new republic is 47,000 square miles, with a coast line of 2,200 miles. This is not quite so large as the State of New York. Its natural resources are great and no doubt will be rapidly developed. The mountains abound with minerals, and there are 17,000,000 acres of uncleared forests. The value of the sugar and tobacco yield is estimated by General Wood to be $100,000,000.

The new republic of course has the right to send to and receive representatives from the older countries. We shall have a minister to the republic at a salary of $10,000; two secretaries of legation, to be paid $2.000 and $1,500 respectively; a consul-general to Havana, to be paid $5,000, and consuls at Cienfuegos and Santiago de Cuba to receive $3,000 each.

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At about eleven o'clock, on May 20, 1902, the Seventh Cavalry, with a band, came from the steamer *Morro Castle*, where they had slept and made arrangements for going home, and reaching the palace in Havana, took position in the middle of the square and stood at attention. Soon after the officers of the *Brooklyn* and *Viking* arrived, followed by the members of the Audiencia, the foreign consuls and a number of officials.

At a quarter before twelve, President Palma, Vice-President Esteves Romero and the members of the Cabinet appeared and were escorted upstairs by Lieutenant Carpenter. Three hundred persons by this time filled the hall of the palace, including the members of the Senate and House of Representatives and the Judges of the Supreme Court. General Wood and President Palma stood in the middle of the hall, with the senators and representatives grouped around them and the secretaries and American officers in the background. Then General Wood read his address:

"TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA—*Sirs:* Under the direction of the President of the United States I now transfer to you, as the duly elected representatives of the people of Cuba, the government and control of the island, to be held and exercised by you under the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Cuba, heretofore adopted by the Constitutional Convention and this day promulgated; and I hereby declare the occupation of Cuba by the United States and the military government of the island to be ended.

"This transfer of government and control is upon the express condition, and the Government of the United States will understand, that by the acceptance thereof you do now, pursuant to the provisions of the said Constitution, assume and undertake, all and several, the obligations assumed by the United States with respect to Cuba by the treaty between the United States of America and her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, signed at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898.

"All money obligations of the military government down to this date have been paid as far as practicable. The public civil funds derived from the revenues of Cuba transferred to you this day are transferred subject to such claims and obligations properly payable out of the revenues of the island as may remain. The sum of $10,000 has been reserved from the transfer of funds to defray anticipated expenses of accounting, reporting and winding up the affairs of the military government, after which any unexpended balance of said sum will be paid into the treasury of the island.

"The plans already devised for the sanitation of the cities of the island and to prevent a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases to which the Government of the United States understands that the provision of the Constitution contained in the fifth article of the appendix applies, are as follows:

"A plan for the paving and sewering of the city of Havana, for which a contract has been awarded by the municipality of that city to McGivney, Rokeby & Co.

"A plan for waterworks to supply the city of Santiago de Cuba, prepared by Captain S. D. Rockenbach, in charge of the District of Santiago, and approved by the Military Governor, providing for taking water from the wells of San Juan canyon and pumping the same to reservoirs located on the heights to the east of the city.

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"A plan for the sewering of the city of Santiago de Cuba, a contract for which was awarded to Michael J. Dady & Co. by the Military Governor of Cuba, and now under construction.

"The rules and regulations established by the President of the United States on the 17th of January, 1899, for the maintenance of quarantine against epidemic diseases at the ports of Havana, Matanzas, Cienfuegos and Santiago de Cuba, and thereafter at the other ports of the island, as extended and amended and made applicable to future conditions by the order of the Military Governor published in the *Official Gazette* of Havana.

"The sanitary rules and regulations in force in the city of Havana.

"It is understood by the United States that the present Government of the Isle of Pines will continue as a *de facto* Government, pending the settlement of the title to said island by treaty pursuant to the Cuban Constitution and the act of Congress of the United States approved March 2, 1901.

"I am further charged by the President of the United States to deliver to you the letter which I now hand you."

President Roosevelt's letter said:

"TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA—*Sirs:* On the 20th of this month the Military Governor of Cuba will, by my direction, transfer to you the control and government of the island of Cuba, to be thenceforth exercised under the provisions of the constitution adopted by your constitutional convention as on that day promulgated; and he will thereupon declare the occupation of Cuba by the United States to be at an end.

"At the same time I desire to express to you the sincere friendship and good wishes of the United States, and our most earnest hopes for the stability and success of your government, for the blessings of peace, justice, prosperity and ordered freedom among your people, and for enduring friendship between the Republic of the United States and the Republic of Cuba.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
"President of the United States."

General Wood's proclamation telling of President Palma's election says:

"It is hereby made known to the people of Cuba:

"That the Congress of Cuba elected on December 31, 1901, and February 24, 1902, under the provisions of the Electoral law published in Orders No. 218, October 14, 1901, these headquarters, having been duly convened in Havana on the fifth day of May, 1902, pursuant to Orders No. 101, April 14, 1902, these headquarters, has examined into the credentials and decided as to the validity of the election of its members.

"That the Congress so convened, after counting and ratifying the electoral vote, has found and proclaimed to be elected President of the Republic of Cuba Tomas Estrada Palma, and to be elected Vice-President of the Republic of Cuba Luis Esteves Romero.

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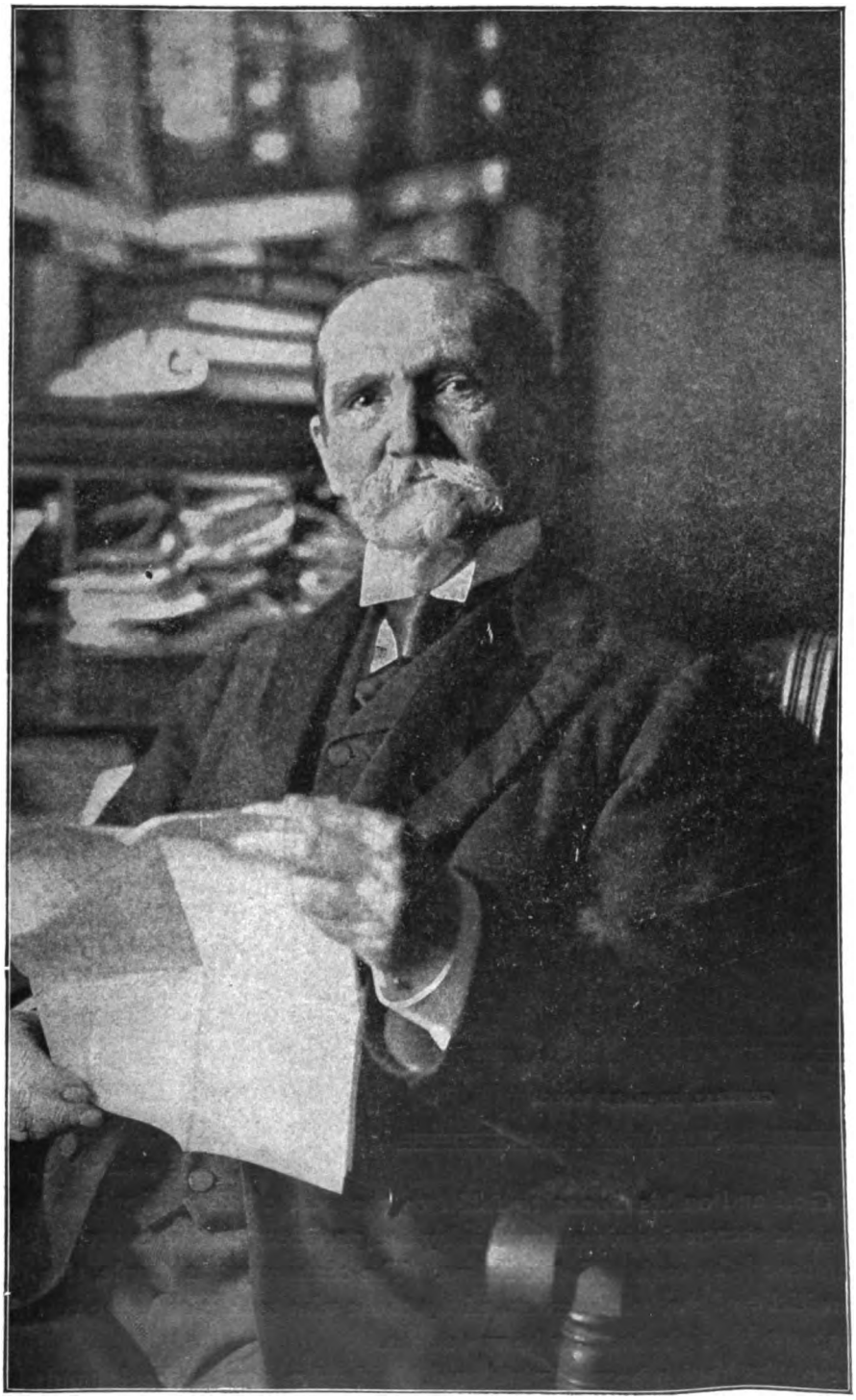

PHOTO BY H. H. MOORE, N. Y

TOMAS ESTRADA PALMA.

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"That the said Congress has adjourned to meet at Havana on the 20th day of May, 1902, at 12 o'clock noon.

"That on the said 20th day of May, 1902, at 12 o'clock noon, the Constitution adopted by the Constitutional Convention at Havana on the 21st day of February, 1901, together with the appendix to the said Constitution adopted by said convention on the 12th day of June, 1901, will be promulgated as the Constitution of the Republic of Cuba and will go into full force and effect; and thereupon and at that time the occupation of Cuba by the United States and the military government of the island will cease and determine, and the government and control of the island will be transferred to the President and Congress so elected, to be held and exercised by them under the Constitution so promulgated.

GENERAL LEONARD WOOD.

"Such transfer will be upon the understanding and condition that the new Government does thereby, and by the acceptance thereof, pursuant to the provisions of the said appendix to the Constitution, assume and undertake all and several the obligations assumed by the United States with respect to Cuba by the treaty between the United States of America and her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, signed at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898."

General Wood had to raise his voice while reading his letters, for the shouting of the crowds outside the palace, the whistling of the boats in the harbor and the booming of the artillery made an overwhelming din. President Palma then took the oath of office, swearing before God and on his honor to fulfill to the best of his ability the duties of his trust. The six secretaries were sworn in by the president of the Supreme Court, who also administered the oath to Señor Palma. The ceremony was simple, the men standing in the middle of the hall, surrounded by those who took part in the ceremony, and each holding up his right hand as he was sworn.

All the oaths having been administered, the foreign consuls shook hands with President Palma and General Wood. Mr. Carden, the British representative, said to General Wood:

"Now that the final act of the government of intervention has been consummated,

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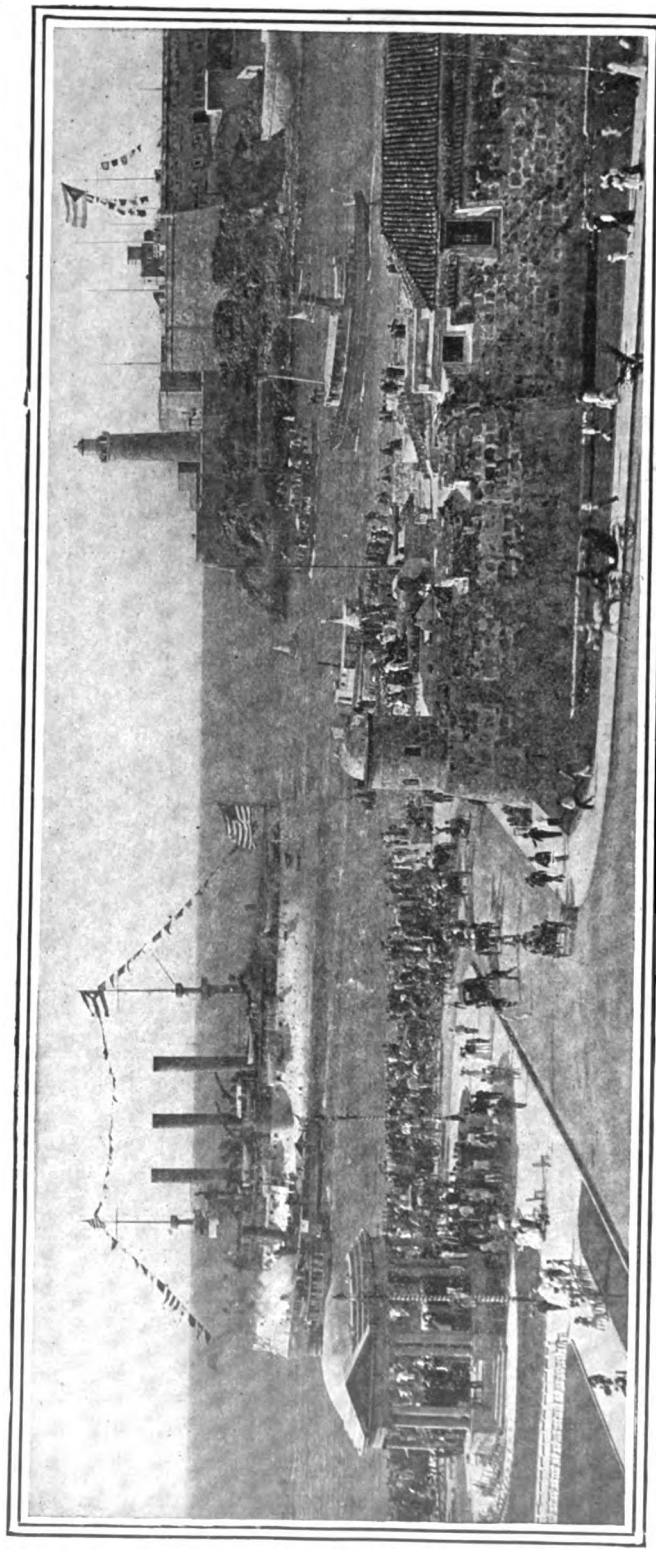
I beg in the name of my colleagues of the consular corps of Havana to express to you our high appreciation of the uniform courtesy and attention we have received at your hands during your tenure of office, which have not only tended very materially to facilitate the transaction of business, but have also made our relations with you very pleasant.

"In this manifestation of our appreciation we wish to associate with yours the name of your distinguished predecessor, Major-General Brooke, and those of the heads of departments of your government and of their subordinates.

"The President of the United States and the Secretary of War, no less than the nation itself, may well feel proud of the high character which their representatives in Cuba of all ranks have won for themselves, and of the esteem in which they are held. In bidding you farewell we beg to offer you our heartiest good wishes for your future welfare."

The Stars and Stripes, which had floated so long over the palace, was now hauled down and the flag of the Cuban Republic was raised by General Wood and General Maximo Gomez.



FAREWELL OF AMERICA'S MILITARY TO THE CUBAN REPUBLIC—DEPARTURE OF THE "BROOKLYN" FROM HAVANA HARBOR, MAY 20TH, WITH GENERAL WOOD AND STAFF ON BOARD.

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As the American flag descended a salute of forty-five guns, one for every State in the Union, was fired from the Cabanas fortress. Then, as the Cuban flag climbed briskly toward the sky, a salute of twenty-one guns was thundered by five American revenue cutters in the harbor and the flagship *Brooklyn*. The American and Cuban forces in front of the palace presented arms at the lowering of our flag. A commission of Cuban veterans raised the Cuban flag over Morro Castle, and the American flag was lowered by United States troops. Thousands of spectators cheered themselves hoarse during these ceremonies.

The Cuban Republic having been ushered into existence, General Wood and President Palma, followed by the staff, next walked to the wharf, where General Wood and his staff boarded a launch for the steamer *Brooklyn*, which left a few minutes before four in the afternoon. Some fifteen tugs accompanied her out of the harbor with whistles screeching and bands playing. A half hour previous the *Morro Castle* had steamed away with the troops. Every boat flew Cuban flags and the city was gayly decorated. Masses were said in all the churches, and there was a Te Deum service in the cathedral in the afternoon. Bells were rung in the churches and the rejoicing was universal.

President Roosevelt received the following cable message from President Palma in the afternoon:

"The government of the island having just been transferred, I, as chief magistrate of the republic, faithfully interpreting the sentiments of the whole people of Cuba, have the honor to send you and the American people the testimony of our profound gratitude and the assurance of an enduring friendship with wishes and prayers to the Almighty for the welfare and prosperity of the United States."

On the same afternoon Secretary Root telegraphed President Palma:

"Believe in my heartfelt congratulation upon the inauguration of the republic which the people of Cuba and the people of the United States have fought and labored together to establish. With confidence in your unselfish patriotism and courage and in the substantial civic virtues of your people, I bid you Godspeed, and on this happy day wish for Cuba for all time liberty and order, peace and prosperity."

In the House of Representatives the resolution of Mr. Hitt was adopted with applause:

"Resolved, That the House views with satisfaction and expresses its congratulations at the appearance this day of the Cuban Republic among the nations of the earth."

Secretary Hay sent out instructions to all ambassadors and other diplomatic officers of the United States abroad to inform the governments to which they were accredited that the authority of the United States over Cuba had ceased and an independent government had been inaugurated. This constituted the formal notice of the United States government to foreign nations.

President Loubet of France expressed his good wishes for the new republic in the following dispatch:

"CRONSTADT, MAY 20.

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

"At the time when the Cuban Republic is proclaimed under the mighty aegis of the

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United States of America, I make it my duty to offer your Excellency my very sincere felicitations and to send you the wishes that I form for the prosperity of the young republic."

The following telegram from General Wood was received at the White House on the night of May 20:

"PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON, D. C.:

"I have the honor to report to you that in compliance with instructions received, I have this day, at 12 o'clock sharp, transferred to the President and Congress of Cuba the Government and control of the island, to be held and exercised by them under the provision of the Constitution of the republic of Cuba. The documents sent to me were read, and Mr. Palma, in accepting the responsibility on behalf of the island, expressed himself in kind and endearing words and thanked the republic of the United States and its officials for all that had been done for Cuba and for the fulfillment of promises made. The ceremony was very impressive. I embark on the *Brooklyn* with my staff for the United States."

Where shall we look in history for such an example of magnanimity as that of the United States toward Cuba? If we quote the action of the Roman Senate and people when, after the overthrow of Macedonian power, they declared the Greek cities free, the latter found they had simply made an exchange of masters. If Spain and Portugal were liberated after the Peninsular War, which cost England so much treasure and blood, the real motive was to deal a death-blow to Napoleon. We have expressed the gratitude which we shall always feel toward France, for her indispensable aid in securing our independence, and yet it is idle to maintain that one of the chief factors in such intervention was not the desire of the French statesmen to revenge themselves for the fall of Quebec and the loss of their American empire. It was a spasm of conscience and the prompting to right a shameful wrong that led Gladstone in 1885 to grant a qualified independence to the South African Republic.

The nearest parallel perhaps was England's renunciation of the Ionian Isles, given to her by the Congress of Vienna, and which she held for more than forty years. But the islands cost her little or nothing and had an insignificant value to her. On the other hand we paid a large price in money and lives for the liberation of Cuba, whose past history proves how tempting as a prize she has always been to us. In the days of slavery, the friends of the South were ready to go to unconstitutional lengths to obtain possession of the Pearl of the Antilles, and we know how often our citizens took part in the efforts to liberate her from Spanish rule. The assertion was often made after the peace of 1898, that Cuba rightly belonged to the American Republic and was certain to gravitate to her side. It is safe to say that a majority of our people believed that such would be the ultimate outcome, despite the pledge of our government to the contrary, but never was a more impressive illustration given, in ancient or modern times, of a great nation keeping its plighted faith, an illustration that is destined to shine like a beacon light among all peoples throughout the ages to come.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

ROOSEVELT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1901–1904—CONTINUED—THE PHILIPPINES.

WOULD that we could tell the same pleasing story of the Philippines that has just been related of Cuba; but, at this writing, the trouble in that far-off archipelago continues, and though peace has come to the greater portion, there is a vicious guerrilla warfare in other parts, attended by atrocities that it is to be feared are not always confined to the side of the treacherous natives, for official investigations have brought to light more than one act on the part of our soldiers that cannot be justified by the laws of civilized peoples.

The last important incident which we recorded concerning the war in the Philippines was the death of General Lawton, December 19, 1899. Throughout the following year the Filipinos kept up a desultory guerrilla warfare outside of Manila, while that port and other places along the coast settled down to the ordinary pursuits of peace. A visitor to the metropolis of the Philippines at any time during the past two years would not suspect that there was the slightest enmity or ill will between the natives and the Americans.

In March, 1900, President McKinley appointed a Civil Commission composed of William H. Taft, of Ohio, President; Professor Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan; Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee; Henry C. Ide, of Vermont, and Professor Bernard Moses, of California, to "continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities, subject in all respects to any laws which Congress may hereafter enact." In his letter of instructions to the Secretary of War, the President dwelt fully upon the purposes of this commission, whose members reached Manila in the month of April. In his message to Congress, December 3, 1900, the President thus spoke of their labors and results:

"This commission, composed of eminent citizens representing the diverse geographical and political interests of the country, and bringing to their task the ripe fruits of long and intelligent service in educational, administrative, and judicial careers, made great progress from the outset. As early as August 21, 1900, it submitted a preliminary report, which will be laid before Congress, and from which it appears that already the good effects of returning order are felt; that business interrupted by hostilities is improving as peace extends: that a larger area is under sugar cultivation than ever before; that the customs revenues are greater than at any time during the Spanish rule; that economy and efficiency in the military administration have created a surplus fund of $6,000,000 available for needed public improvements; that a stringent civil service law is in preparation; that railroad communications are expanding, opening up rich districts, and that a comprehensive scheme of education is being organized."

April 7, 1900, Major-General Otis, military governor of the Philippines, was relieved

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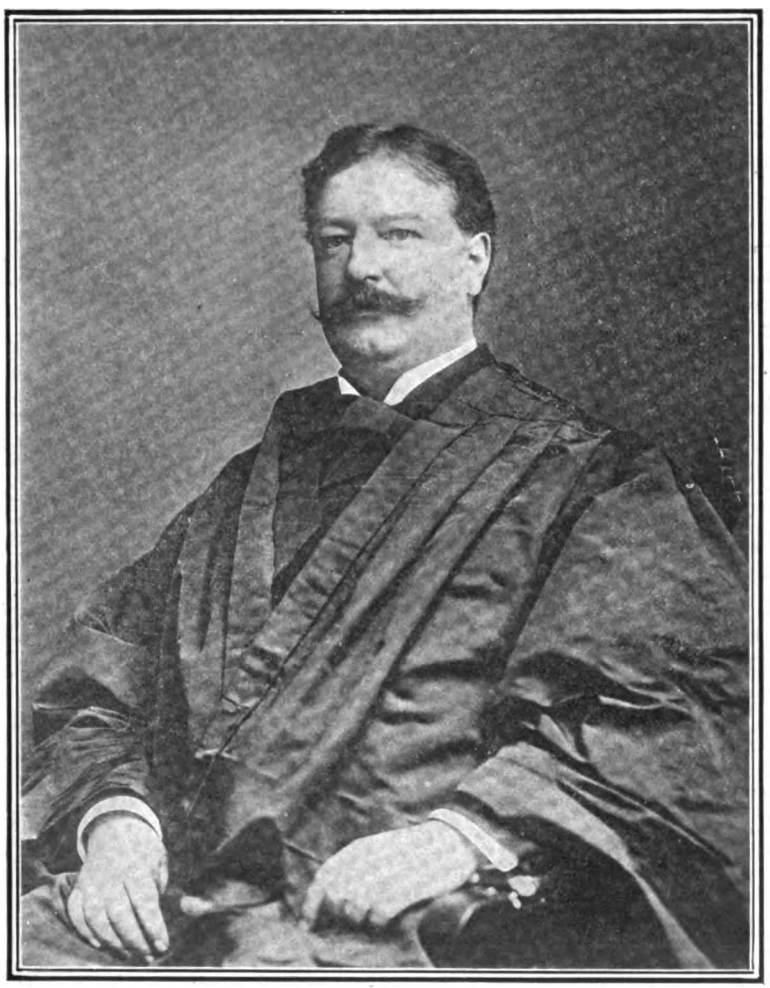
at his own request, and returned to this country. Major-General MacArthur became his successor and remained in command for the rest of the year. On June 21, he issued the following proclamation of amnesty to the Filipinos:

"By direction of the President of the United States, the undersigned announces amnesty, with complete immunity for the past and absolute liberty of action for the future, to all persons who are now or at any time since February 4, 1899, have been in



WM. H. TAFT.

insurrection against the United States in either a military or a civil capacity, and who shall within a period of ninety days from the date hereof formally renounce all connection with such insurrection and subscribe to a declaration acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty and authority of the United States in and over the Philippine Islands. The privilege herewith published is extended to all concerned without any reservation whatever, excepting that persons who have violated the laws of war during the period of active hostilities are not embraced within the scope of this amnesty.

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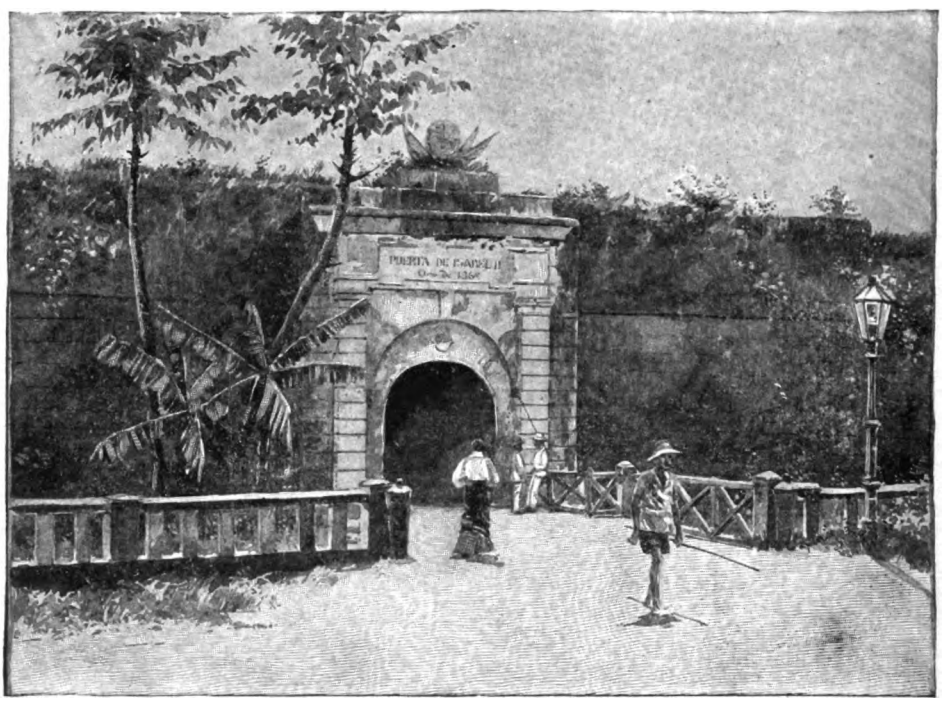
"All who desire to take advantage of the terms herewith set forth, are requested to present themselves to the commanding officers of the American troops at the most convenient station, who will receive them with due consideration according to rank, make provision for their immediate wants, prepare the necessary records, and thereafter permit each individual to proceed to any part of the archipelago according to his own wishes, for which purpose the United States will furnish such transportation as may be available either by railway, steamboat, or wagon. Prominent persons who may desire to confer with the military governor or with the Board of American Commissioners will be permitted to visit Manila, and will, as far as possible, be provided with transportation for that purpose.

"In order to mitigate as much as possible consequences resulting from the various disturbances which since 1896 have succeeded each other so rapidly, and to provide in



THE PUERTA DE ISABEL II., ONE OF THE GATES OF THE OLD WALLED CITY OF MANILA.

some measure for destitute soldiers during the transitory period which must inevitably succeed a general peace, the military authorities of the United States will pay thirty pesos to each man who presents a rifle in good condition."

During this year the discovery was made that owing to an oversight, the islands of Cibitu and Cagayan, at the southern end of the archipelago, with a population of 7,000, had been overlooked in the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain in 1898, and, to avoid the embarrassment of having the islands fall into the hands of some other power than Spain, to be used as a naval station, the United States paid that country $100,000 for them.

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On January 10, 1901, Senator Teller of Colorado presented a petition to "the Congress of the United States," signed by 2,000 natives of the Philippine Islands, among whom were included, according to the Senator, the leading people of the islands, lawyers and bankers and professional men generally, who demanded the independence of their country on the ground that (1) the war has proved the national aspiration to independence to be invincible; (2) that annexation to the United States is out of the question by reason of the great difference in race and the distance of the islands from America; (3) that such autonomous government as Canada and Australia possess is "not in accordance with the aspirations of the people"; (4) that the Filipinos have conclusively proved their capacity for self-government.

These are the conclusions summed up by the petition:

"We have therefore already proved:

"1. That the revolution was the exclusive work of the public.

"2. That in preparing it they were moved by a great ideal—the ideal of independence.

"3. That they are ready to sacrifice their whole existence in order to realize their just aspirations.

"4. That, in spite of the serious difficulties through which they are passing, they still expect from America that she will consider them with impartiality and justice, and will recognize what by right belongs to them, and thus give them an opportunity to show their boundless gratitude.

"5. That the annexation of the Philippines to America is not feasible.

"6. That the American sovereignty is not favored by the Philippine people.

"7. That an ample autonomy cannot be imposed without violating the Filipino will.

"8. That the Filipinos are firm for self-government."

The Filipinos therefore demanded:

"1. That their independence be recognized.

"2. That all necessary information regarding the events which are taking place, concerning the peaceful towns and places which are supporting the arms of the revolution, be obtained from Filipinos who, by their antecedents and by their actual conduct, deserve the respect and confidence of the Filipino people."

Strong hopes were roused that much good would be effected in the islands through the organization of the Federal party, which was favorable to American rule. It was said that the most patriotic and eminent men were enthusiastic members, the platform being formally adopted and proclaimed on Sunday, December 23, 1900, with an executive committee, whose character and responsibility were conceded by all. The platform from which so much was expected recognized the sovereignty of the United States as represented in the islands by a government liberal, democratic and representative; individual rights, liberties and the guarantee of the rights of property and home, and the right of religious meetings, and the complete separation of Church and State; it is impossible to possess these rights and liberties without the benefit of peace and order; the motives of those who have formed this party are to co-operate with the con-

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stituted government; to use every means to pacify the country; to resist inroads of the lawless element, which cause the discrediting of the Filipino national culture and the perpetrating of many crimes; municipal self-government with provincial governments, with departments under the supervision of the central government; instruction, primary, liberal and gratuitous, under the direction of the territorial government, in conformity with the laws of the legislative body, which is represented at this time by the Civil Commission and will afterward be represented by a House and Senate; the desire of the party is to urge compulsory education of both sexes in schools, public and private, and to encourage higher education; the creation of militia to preserve order; the civil employees of the government must be competent and learned, and required to be of a high moral character, under laws that will enforce that condition.

The Women's Peace League was organized at Manila, February 9, 1901, at a meeting attended by 50 American and 200 Filipino women and presided over by a Filipino. The League favors American sovereignty and sent a salutation and greeting to President McKinley.

The greatest determination to resist American rule was shown in Panay, but there was good reason to report that it was fully pacified. On February 13, a civil government was instituted in the province of Pampanga, Luzon, and officials were installed on the same day. This was the first province to be organized under American sovereignty. Soon after civil government was also set up in the province of Pangasinan and the work pressed elsewhere.

Proofs were brought to light that certain merchants in Manila were helping the insurgents with supplies. Two of them, one a Californian, were arrested on February 8, and George T. Rice, editor of the Manila *Daily Bulletin*, for giving aid and comfort to the insurgents, was ordered to be banished and was placed on board an army transport and sent to San Francisco. Other arrests followed, most of them of leading citizens, and evidence pointed strongly to the guilt of the Italian and Uruguayan consuls.

Thirty men of the 44th Regiment, under Lieutenant Hicken, were surprised by a much larger body of insurgents near Fiesta San Luci, island of Cebu, January 29, and suffered a loss of five killed, four wounded and two missing. About a week later, the camp of General Trias, occupied by 250 men and 130 rifles, was captured and destroyed by a detachment of the 46th regiment. One man was killed, two wounded and the rest of the insurgents escaped. A number of their leaders in different places were captured, among them the insurgent governor Bustos.

As the hostilities dragged along without decisive results, considerable sympathy was expressed in different parts of this country for the insurgents. Filipino independence, as construed by the insurgents themselves, had its advocates in both houses of Congress, with no little following throughout the country. Robert Treat Paine was president of the American Peace Society, and as such gave the public a letter from Señor Sixto Lopez, who, speaking for his countrymen, declared that the Filipinos would never accept American sovereignty, as that term is generally understood, and whether they would accept suzerainty would depend on the interpretation of that word. "If the administration will say to the Filipinos: 'We will not deny you the one right

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GENERAL FREDERICK FUNSTON.

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which you claim and which we enjoy. We will grant you your independence, but we reserve the right to take such steps as are necessary to enable us to fulfil our obligations and conserve our rights'—the Filipinos will lay down their arms at once. If the acceptance of this offer entailed some definitely defined form of suzerainty, or if it necessitated joint action in foreign affairs, the retention of American troops, or the appointment of a customs commissioner, the Filipinos would raise no objection, provided that these conditions were not to be made perpetual. These and all such questions are matters of detail, and could be included in a treaty."

The most picturesque, if not the most important occurrence of the war, was the capture of Aguinaldo, the head and front of the insurrection, which was effected on March 23, 1901, at Palaṇan, province of Isabela, by General Frederick Funston with the help of a few American officers and a company of native scouts. There have been so many accounts published of this exploit, including that of Aguinaldo himself, and some of the participants on the side of the Americans as well, that the best course will be to let General Funston take the stage and give his own version of the affair. The following story was related by him before the Lotos Club on Saturday, March 8, 1902:

"I have very serious doubts about the propriety of my talking about the capture of Aguinaldo. The matter has been written up and talked about and worked over until I really believe there is absolutely nothing new that could be said on the subject. I am sure that all of you have read the press dispatches, and a great many of you have read the official reports, and they really covered the thing very fully. Of course you know it was what they call 'a dirty Irish trick' on Aguinaldo.

"However, if you would like a very short account of what occurred, I will not keep you very long. You will understand that considerable doubt had existed for a number of months as to the actual whereabouts of the dictator. He was reported a number of times to be in Cavité, which is a town very close to Manila, but this misapprehension arose from the fact that his cousin Baldomero Aguinaldo had been in the vicinity of Cavité. Aguinaldo himself afterward told me that he had never returned anywhere near the vicinity of Manila after he had been chased northward by General Lawton.

"He had retired to the little village of Baler, near the northeast coast of Luzon, across an almost impassable range of mountains, and there, accompanied by, I believe, eight officers and forty soldiers, had settled down in this small village, which was fifty miles from the nearest town garrisoned by Americans, and I can tell you that fifty miles over those mountains is further than from here to San Francisco on a Pullman car.

"He had maintained an irregular communication with the insurgents, with chiefs such as Pablo Tecson, Lacuna and numerous others, having maintained this communication by means of runners who would cross the mountains and then carry messages south.

"Well, he sent one lot of messages too many, and they fell into the hands of Lieutenant Taylor of the Twenty-fourth United States Infantry. Taylor's station was about one hundred and fifty miles south of where Aguinaldo was, and was in my own district. He telegraphed me at once that a band of insurgent soldiers had come in and voluntarily surrendered to him; they stated that they had left Aguinaldo's camp twenty-six

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days before and were bringing messages to the south; that when they came into those provinces they found war over there, and they did not want to go back, and so they would give up the whole business. Consequently they gave Lieutenant Taylor the package of letters.

"He ran over them hastily and saw that they were of great importance because they disclosed the whereabouts of the long-lost Presidente and Dictator Aguinaldo.

"One of those letters was written in cipher, and a very difficult cipher to work out. It was a cipher of figures, and every third word was in the Tagalog dialect; the others were in Spanish, and there was a way of subtracting certain numbers in order to get at what letter was meant. We had no key to work on.

"I should have said, by the way, that this correspondence and the man who brought it in were taken down to my headquarters at once. I had with me then an intelligent and courteous man, a man who had served ten years as an enlisted man in the Spanish army, and a man who knew the native dialects perfectly. He went to work on the cipher letter at about nine o'clock in the evening, and at about four o'clock in the morning he had worked it out; it was about sixty words altogether, and it was a magnificent piece of work. I believe that feature of the thing can scarcely be appreciated by anyone who does not understand how difficult a cipher is without a key, especially when it runs into two languages, and those two languages dissimilar.

"But we found that Aguinaldo had suspended his command in the central districts of Luzon and that his cousin, Baldomero Aguinaldo, should succeed him. In this letter he told Baldomero Aguinaldo that as soon as he had relieved Alejandrino he should select from the various insurgent bands all through that region about four hundred armed men and send them to him at once.

"Of course I knew from this that Aguinaldo would be expecting re-enforcements. I talked with this man bringing the correspondence and suggested several plans for Aguinaldo's capture, all of which he said were impossible. He said that the coast was very inaccessible for about fifty miles north and one hundred miles south of where Aguinaldo was, and that the Bulgas, who are the wild savages in that region, would be sure to give Aguinaldo information of the approach of any ship along that coast.

"Consequently the plan which I at first suggested, of landing a party in small boats at night and making a rapid march to Palanan, which was distant only six miles from the beach, was impracticable, because no surprise could be effected; to march from the west, the nearest post, fifty miles across the mountains, was impossible, because the north trail was well guarded, and he would have had information days before we reached him, and taken to the hills.

"Finally I said to this man: 'Well, now, Aguinaldo is expecting re-enforcements, from this letter. Suppose we go there, passing ourselves off as these re-enforcements, and taking along some Americans as prisoners; how about that?' He said:

"'Good; that will do, that will do; we can do it.'

"There was not much difficulty in inducing this man to aid us; we used no threats, but talked kindly and merely told him that he would be very well rewarded if we succeeded. Then I sent the plan to my immediate commanding officer, General Wheaton,

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in Manila, who approved it and forwarded it to General MacArthur, and they at once telegraphed me to come to Manila. I talked the plan over again with General MacArthur, and after suggesting, or rather directing, some slight changes, he ordered us to go ahead and make arrangements with the Admiral commanding the squadron at Cavité to give us one of the smaller gunboats.

"Our plan, as you know, was to take a company of our own soldiers—Macabebes who have been in our service and always against the insurgents—and pass them off as insurgent troops, by merely putting them in the clothing of the country.

"I will say here that there seems to be a very general misapprehension of the fact that we had gone to Aguinaldo clothed in insurgent uniforms. The fact is that we had been accustomed to going about in all sorts of uniforms, and sometimes with no uniforms at all. We were merely dressed as if we had gone out to-night in evening clothes, to shoot people, and then come back and hidden our Mausers, and put on regular working clothes again. But we took along some insurgent uniforms, probably about twenty, although not more than half a dozen were worn at all; and it is a fact that having those insurgent uniforms with us had no bearing on the success of the expedition.

SENATOR H. C. LODGE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"The insurgent uniform, by the way, was merely the uniform of the Spanish army. They had these uniforms because they had captured them when they drove the Spaniards out of the towns of central Luzon, and consequently when the insurgents began fighting us they uniformed every man in Spanish uniforms, and I do not know but that we had about as much right to put that uniform on the Macabebe soldiers as had the insurgents to wear it. That is a question worth thinking about.

"We saw that it would be necessary to lull by decoy letters any suspicions that Aguinaldo might have at the approach of an armed force. One of his letters had been addressed to an insurgent chief of the name of Lacuna. This had fallen into our hands along with the others, consequently, before the expedition finally embarked, we dictated, a couple of letters, which were written by Segovia, under which I regret to say we—I suppose forged is the proper word—we wrote the signature of Lacuna.

"In these letters we merely made mention of the fact, of course, that Lacuna had received his communications of a certain date, and that he, Lacuna, had received orders

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from Baldomero Aguinaldo to forward immediately to the north one of his best guerrilla companies, and that he was sending them with Hilario Placido and three or four others whom he mentioned.

"Hilario Placido and three other officers who accompanied us had been insurgents; two of them had been captured about three months before and the others had voluntarily surrendered. No particular inducement was offered to them to join us, except that we told them we would reward them pretty well and we would have a pretty good time. They were not informed as to the actual purpose of the expedition until we had sailed from Manila, as it was not considered advisable to take too many into our confidence.

"However, we sailed from Manila on the *Vicksburg*, and, by the way, it was a lucky thing for us to get such a ship as the *Vicksburg*, and so fine an officer as Captain Barry in command of her, and such a lot of sailors as manned her, because if we had had to depend on any merchant ship in the world, or any picked-up crew of men, we would never have put that expedition through successfully.

"The *Vicksburg* sailed from Manila on the 6th of March with a force consisting of five American officers, including myself, seventy-nine Macabebe scouts, four ex-insurgent officers and Segovia, who had given up the correspondence from Aguinaldo. Four days later we reached Casiguran Bay on the east coast of Luzon, and ran up the bay for about ten miles, and there we landed, a hundred and ten miles south of where Aguinaldo was.

"The country between the place of disembarkation and his camp was almost impassable mountains, mountains which had never been crossed by a white man except once, by a Jesuit priest about twenty-five years before. The country was inhabited mostly by savages, but there was about twenty miles north of our landing place a village known as Casiguran, a small town of not over three hundred people. They had a Presidente, or Mayor as we would call him, and a small force of insurgent soldiers.

"We knew it would be necessary for us to land southward of this town, because the coast from there north was absolutely inaccessible, being composed of precipitous cliffs. I knew also that landing an armed force in this town would cause the inhabitants to take to the woods unless we sent some correspondence to them. So we wrote another letter. This letter was signed by Hilario Placido and merely said to the Mayor of the town that he was on his way north to join Aguinaldo; that he had captured five American prisoners and that he would remain in his town for about two days, and told him to provide quarters and rations for his men at once.

"We sent Cecilia Sigismondo, two soldiers and two Macabebe scouts to town with this letter, and we went in later. When we reached there the people were out to greet us. They looked with considerable curiosity at the American 'prisoners,' we being the first they had ever seen. The Macabebes, though, thought it was a great joke, and it was with great difficulty that we were able to keep these men from laughing and giving the whole business away.

"Before disembarking from the ship we five Americans were dressed entirely as private soldiers, in the uniform of the United States Army, but with no insignia of rank. Each man wore a campaign hat, a blue shirt and a pair of khaki trousers, and carried no extras, I believe, but a few that didn't weigh very much anyhow, and when we reached

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Casiguran we were turned over to the Casiguran authorities and put in the town jail. In case I ever run for office back in Kansas, I don't want that fact brought out.

"We remained two days and two nights in the town of Casiguran, and none of the people, neither the Presidente nor any of the other town officials, nor any of the soldiers, ever suspected anything at all. We obtained from the Presidente a runner and two guides to go north to Aguinaldo and tell him we were coming on. These men carried the two decoy letters written over the signature of Lacuna, and also a letter from Hilario Placido to Aguinaldo, in which he stated that in accordance with orders received from Lacuna, he had taken up his march and after nineteen days spent in crossing the mountains, had reached Casiguran and was now on his way north; that on his way he had fallen in with a detachment of ten American soldiers, of whom he had killed three, two had escaped, and he was bringing the other five, us, as prisoners.

"It had been our hope that in this town of Casiguran we would be enabled to obtain some provisions that we could carry, but we found the people there living almost exclusively on sweet potatoes and fresh fish. For obvious reasons it was impossible for us to carry enough of those articles to last for seven or eight days. The Presidente told us that if we would remain a week he would get us some cracked corn, which was portable and would not deteriorate, but it was impossible for us to delay for that length of time, because the *Vicksburg* was to meet us on the 27th, and we knew from the way the *Vicksburg* did things that she would be right on time, and we would have to be there, too.

"It is too long a story to go through—that terrible march. We left Casiguran unable to obtain a full supply of cracked corn; we left with what would be about a three days' ration, counting on two meals a day, and with probably one day's ration of dried meat. We simply thought we would take chances. If the march had lasted another day, if we had been twenty miles further away, not a single one of us would ever have got out of the country alive. When we finally reached our destination some of the Macabebes had given up, some of them were crawling on all-fours, and I myself had to lie down every half hour for a minute or two, so weak that I could not walk.

"For the first six days we made this cracked corn hold out, with the dried meat; then we caught small snails and ate them; we scraped limpets off the rocks and ate them, for we were marching along the sea, and I regret to say that we also ate an octopus. I know the octopus is supposed to live in New York and therefore I am afraid to speak about that. This octopus is a sort of small devil fish, and the Macabebes made a stew of it. I took some, and I don't believe I care for any more.

"Seven days after leaving the town of Casiguran we reached a point on the coast where the trail turned inland, and from there it was only eight miles to Aguinaldo's camp As I have said before the men were so weary and falling out—some of them were ten miles behind the column and did not get in that night until 'way after midnight—and we were very much wrought up for the reason that no messenger had been sent out to meet us, and we suspected treachery.

"You see, we had to bring twelve natives as guides and pack-bearers, and the Macabebes had committed a few indiscretions in the way of talking, and we were very

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St. Louis Exposition

Festival Hall and Colonade of States.

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FESTIVAL HALL AND COLONADE OF STATES

LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION

1904

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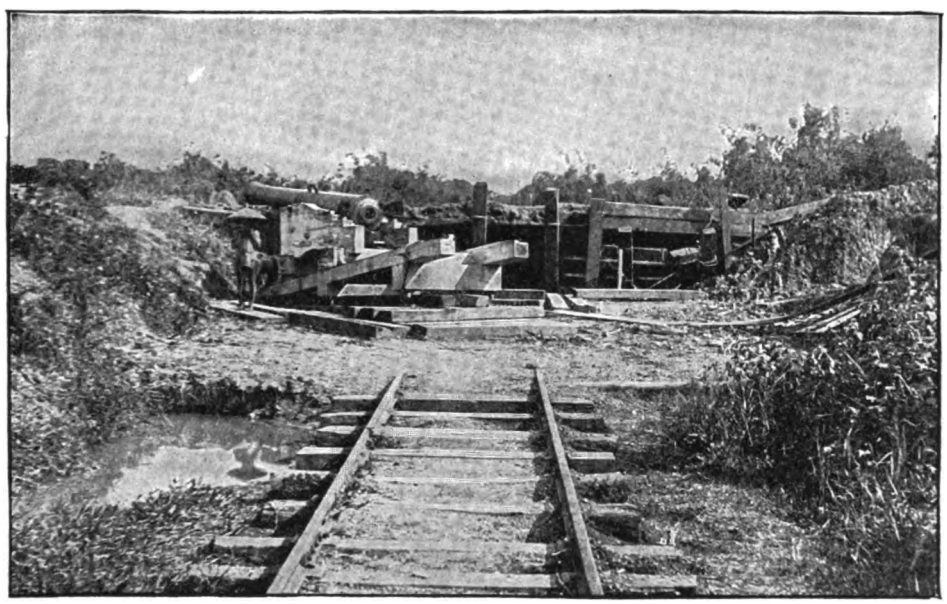
suspicious for fear that word had got to Aguinaldo, as one of the twelve pack-bearers had disappeared and we did not know where he had gone. As we found out afterward he had got tired of good, honest work, and had gone back home.

"When we reached this point on the coast where the trail turns inland we met an old Tagalog and a few Belugas. The old man said he had been sent down there to build a shed where the American prisoners were to be confined, as we were not to be brought into the town. He also had a note from Simon Villia addressed to Hilario Placido telling him that he must under no circumstances bring the Americans into the town, because it would not do for them to know the trails. He said that we should be left there with a guard of ten men, and that the others the following morning would continue the march.

"The situation was now very serious. We were afraid to absolutely disobey these orders for fear suspicion would be aroused; we were not sure that we were not sus-



AN INSURGENT BARRICADE, WITH AN OLD SPANISH GUN, ON THE RAILWAY BETWEEN MANILA AND MALOLOS.

pected, but finally we arranged that we would start the next morning; the Americans left behind the column would follow and finally join it.

"So when day broke on the morning of the day on which the capture was made Sigismondo, Hilario Placido and the other insurgent officers and all of the Macabebes except ten started for Palanan, guided by the old man who had remained behind building the house. We five Americans were left behind under the guard of a very intelligent corporal.

"I had told this corporal, talking to him in Spanish, what he was to do. I told him that after the column had gone a note or letter—you see, we still had this letter habit—would come back, ordering us to join the column. I had given Sigismondo his

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instructions, so when Sigismondo got with his column he sat down and wrote a note in Tagalog back to this Macabebe corporal saying:

"'Have just received orders from the Dictator to bring the American prisoners into Palanan with the column, the other orders being rescinded.'

"We were a little bit suspicious of these Tagalogs who were building the house, so we showed the note, and they said, 'All right, go along, go along.' So that thing worked.

"The other Americans were better marchers than I was, so I delayed the procession, but we managed to come up with the rear column of Macabebes just as the last detachment of them were crossing the river. The river probably was 150 yards wide and fifteen or twenty feet deep; we had only one boat in which it could be crossed, and this boat could carry only eight people at a time, consequently the Macabebes had been ferried across eight at a time and then formed on the other bank, and just as the last boatload of them was being taken across we Americans came down.

"In the meantime Hilario Placido and Sigismondo had paid their respects to Aguinaldo. They found him surrounded by eight officers in the reception room of his house; they were all armed, and outside, standing at attention, were the men of Aguinaldo's escort.

"It was a most trying experience for Hilario Placido and Sigismondo, to go among these officers and stay there talking with them for half an hour killing time until they could see us Americans crossing the river.

"Sigismondo kept looking out of the window at his right all the time until he finally saw us; he knew then that the time had come for action, but he confessed to me afterward that it was a terribly trying experience, and I have no doubt it was.

"Well, the Macabebes marched up, about a half a dozen escorting us, and Sigismondo walked out of the house and said to one of the insurgent lieutenants who was with us, 'Give it to them,' or something of that kind; anyhow we did 'go for them.'

"The Macabebes had been instructed to load their rifles before starting on the march, but some of them apparently misunderstood their orders and loaded the magazines instead of loading the chambers. They were so excited when they fired that the result was, when the firing began, that their marksmanship was pretty wild and they hit only two men, for which I am very glad. We had no desire to kill those insurgent soldiers. All we wished to do was to capture Aguinaldo. I wish the two men had escaped, but that is one of the unfortunate incidents of war. The Macabebes fired on those men and two fell dead; the others retreated, firing as they ran, and I might say here that they retreated with such great alacrity and enthusiasm that they dropped eighteen rifles and a thousand rounds of ammunition.

"Sigismondo rushed back into the house, pulled his revolver, and told the insurgent officers to surrender. They all threw up their hands except Villia, Aguinaldo's chief of staff; he had on one of those new-fangled Mauser revolvers and he wanted to try it. But before he had the Mauser out of its scabbard he was shot twice; Sigismondo was a pretty fair marksman himself.

"Alambra was shot in the face. He jumped out of the window; the house, by the

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way, stood on the bank of the river. He went out of the window and went clear down into the river, the water being twenty-five feet below the bank. He escaped, swam across the river, and got away, and surrendered five months afterwards.

"Villia, shot in the shoulder, followed him out of the window and into the river, but the Macabebes saw him and ran down to the river bank, and they waded in and fished him out and kicked him all the way up the bank and asked him how he liked it.

"Santiago Barcelona, Aguinaldo's treasurer, gave up at once and apparently was glad he was captured. The other officers went out of the doors and windows and everywhere.

"Hilario Placido, who had been an insurgent officer and who had been shot through the lungs early in the war, back in 1899, was personally acquainted with Aguinaldo, and was standing next to him when the firing began. In the meantime Sigismondo had gone outside and ordered the firing.

"When this firing began Aguinaldo thought his own men had ordered the fire to greet the re-enforcements they were expecting, so he stepped to the window and said:

"'Stop that foolishness.'

"Then Hilario Placido hurled him to the floor, and said: 'You are a prisoner; keep still.'

"About that time we five Americans got into the room and Aguinaldo got on his feet, and he was a very mellow individual. He was fearfully excited, as a man would naturally be under those circumstances. He asked us to protect him, and I assured him that he would be protected. He said:

"'This is not true? This is a joke?' I said:

"'No, this is not a joke; this is the real thing.'

"The turmoil was all over in a very few minutes, but the Macabebes were wildly excited; they had been under a terrible nervous strain, and especially for an hour the situation was very trying for them; they ran around like wild men and insisted upon hugging us and calling out in Spanish:

"'What's the matter with the Macabebes? They're all right. Who's all right? The Macabebes.'

"You will understand that these men had very little faith in the outcome of the expedition. We did not explain to them what we were going to do until we sailed from Manila. They feared that none of us would ever come back, and it was simply by cajoling and threatening also that we kept them up to it.

"They were men no better, nor any worse, than the other Filipinos. They were simply Filipinos and did not constitute a separate tribe but simply belonged to a certain village; they have never been insurgents simply because of the lack of opportunity.

"As soon as Aguinaldo's escort had broken and run we collected the Macabebes as soon as we could and came down and put the three prisoners, Aguinaldo, Villia and Barcelona, into Aguinaldo's bedroom. They were very desirous that the American officers be in there all the time, as they had little faith in the Macabebes.

"The Macabebes had recognized Aguinaldo and were anxious to kill him. They had no particular spite against the other insurgents. It was in 1897 that 300 Maca-

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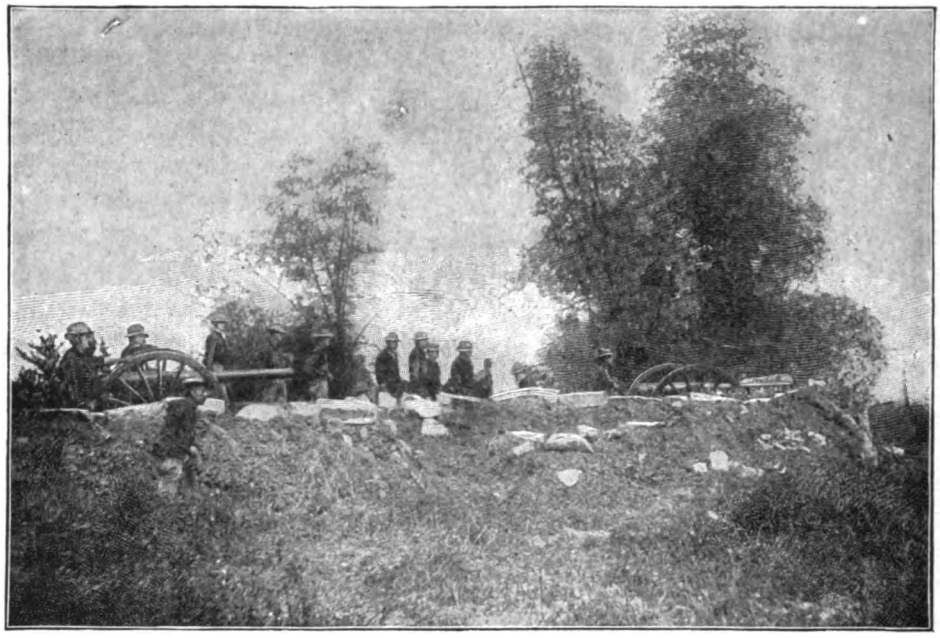
bebes were penned up in a church and burned to death by an insurgent force under Aguinaldo, and that is the reason they felt so bitterly toward him personally.

"However, we took every possible precaution to protect the prisoners from harm, and treated them with all consideration. They appeared very much surprised that they were not put in irons, and they asked if they were to be sent to Guam—evidently they had heard of that cheerful resort—and also if they were to be executed. We told them it was very unlikely, but that it would depend very much on their own conduct..

"The first night we spent in Palanan did not give us much uneasiness, because we were sure that the insurgents who had escaped would not be able to get together again. The second night we took a great many precautions, as we were afraid, not only that



WARFARE IN THE PHILIPPINES—AMERICAN ARTILLERY IN THE TRENCHES OULSIDE OF MANILA.

these men would get back to the town, but that they would gather other insurgent soldiers and possibly collect a number of rifles, and we had no reserve supply of ammunition. So on the second night that we remained in Palanan we kept half of the officers and half of the men on watch until 12 o'clock; then they lay down and the others remained up, the men having their rifles loaded. But there was no attack made on us and no shot fired at all.

"Finally the day came on which we were to meet the *Vicksburg* at Casiguran Bay. It was only six miles from this point to Palanan, but we did not return to where we left the coast before, which was eight miles distant, but we struck it at another point. We supposed it would take three hours to make this march, but owing to the fact that neither Aguinaldo nor the officers with him knew the trail we were six hours getting down there. We lost our way, we got into cornfields and sweet-potato patches and all kinds of places; but we finally found our way down to the sea. If we had known the proper trail, we would have been there in three hours.

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"Just as we reached the coast we saw a black speck of smoke away out at sea, and we knew that the Navy was doing things right, just as it usually does them. She steamed in within two miles of the shore, it not being safe to come closer, so we arranged a signal. We had brought down with us a bed sheet, and this was rigged on a bamboo pole, and we signaled: 'We have him; send boats for all.'

"We watched with our glasses the signal on the *Vicksburg* and finally we spelled it out.

"'Bully! We are coming.' But a tremendous surf was running, and we had very serious doubts as to our ability to get on board the ship. All of the ship's boats except a steam launch were lowered, and they came through that surf—and honestly, it seems to me as if it was half as high as this room; maybe it was higher, I don't know. One of the boats turned upside down, but finally they came through the surf and the men cheered and yelled.

"The commander was on the first boat that came through.

"We ran up, and of course there were very cordial greetings. It seemed to me those men never stopped howling and yelling; they just went through the surf and they were drenched through and through from head to foot, but that didn't make any difference, when they got through with their boats they just yelled and whooped it up.

"We got out with a great deal of difficulty. A couple of trips had to be made, but fortunately we got through without any accident at all, and we were finally on board the *Vicksburg* all drenched through from head to foot. The officers lent us some clothing and we sat down to a very good dinner, and two days later we turned the late lamented Emilio Aguinaldo over to General MacArthur.

"I had a most important talk with Aguinaldo on the way down—and by the way he is a very reserved, cautious man, says very little, and you have to get everything out of him by questions. Barcelona was very talkative, and consequently we concluded that what he said was not of a very great deal of value.

"The most important thing that we got out of Aguinaldo was in his mellow moment about half an hour after the capture. Just as soon as things calmed down I went to talk with him, before he got his wits collected, and so I asked him a few questions, a little bit impressively. Of course we had all heard this story to the effect that Admiral Dewey, and various Consuls and naval officers, had promised the Filipinos independence. As far as I am personally concerned, Dewey's denial of that thing settles it with me, but just to see what Aguinaldo would say I asked him the question direct:

"'Did you ever have any promise from anybody, any American Army or Navy officer, that the United States was going to recognize the Filipinos?'

"He hesitated and stammered, and said:—this is in confidence; I didn't know I was going to tell about this at a Lotos Club dinner; this is between ourselves. He said:

"'No, nobody promised us anything: but we had faith in the generosity of the American people.'"

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The correspondence captured with Aguinaldo showed that on January 28 he had proclaimed himself dictator. He had been living for seven months at Palanan undisturbed, except when a detachment of the 16th Infantry visited the town, whereupon the whole population fled to the mountains and remained there until the troop left. Aguinaldo admitted that he had narrowly escaped capture once before, but he was never wounded and declared he never would have been taken except by stratagem. Lacuna's forged signature completely deceived him.

In recognition of this act of General Funston, President McKinley appointed him brigadier-general in the regular army.

Aguinaldo, who had been president of the Filipino Republic, on April 2 took the oath of allegiance to the government of the United States, acting on the advice of Judge Arellano, chief justice of the insular judiciary system. Here is the exact wording of the oath as sworn to by him:

"I hereby renounce all allegiance to any and all so-called revolutionary governments in the Philippine Islands, and recognize and accept the supreme authority of the United States of America therein; I do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to that government; that I will at all times conduct myself as a faithful and law-abiding citizen of the said islands, and will not, either directly or indirectly, hold correspondence with or give intelligence to an enemy of the United States; nor will I abet, harbor, or protect such enemy; that I impose upon myself these voluntary obligations without any mental reservations or purpose of evasion, so help me God."

Naturally a good many people suspected the sincerity of Aguinaldo's professions, for his people have shown a treachery at times equal to that of an Apache Indian, but he seemed really to mean what he said, especially when some two weeks later he issued the following address to his compatriots and to the world, General MacArthur at the same time giving orders for the release of a thousand Filipino prisoners, upon their taking the oath of allegiance:

"I believe I am not in error in presuming that the unhappy fate to which my adverse fortune has led me is not a surprise to those who have been familiar with the progress of the war. The lessons taught with a full meaning, and which have recently come to my knowledge, suggest with irresistible force that a complete termination of hostilities and lasting peace are not only desirable, but absolutely essential to the welfare of the Philippine islands.

"The Filipinos have never been dismayed at their weakness, nor have they faltered in following the path pointed out by their fortitude and courage. The time has come, however, in which they find their advance along this path to be impeded by an irresistible force, which, while it restrains them, yet enlightens their minds and opens to them another course, presenting them the cause of peace. This cause has been joyfully embraced by the majority of my fellow countrymen, who have already united around the glorious sovereign banner of the United States. In this banner they repose their trust, and believe that under its protection the Filipino people will attain all those promised liberties which they are beginning to enjoy.

"The country has declared unmistakably in favor of peace. So be it. There has

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been enough blood, enough tears, and enough desolation. This wish cannot be ignored by the men still in arms if they are animated by a desire to serve our noble people, which has thus clearly manifested its will. So do I respect this will, now that it is known to me.

"After mature deliberation I resolutely proclaim to the world that I cannot refuse to heed the voice of a people longing for peace, nor the lamentations of thousands of families yearning to see their dear ones enjoying the liberty and the promised generosity of the great American nation.

"By acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty of the United States throughout the Philippine Archipelago,—as I now do, and without any reservation whatsoever,—I believe that I am serving thee, my beloved country. May happiness be thine!"

Aguinaldo, after expressing his gratitude for the courteous treatment he was receiving, said that every word in his address to his countrymen came from his heart. "I hope the Americans believe me thoroughly sincere in my efforts to secure peace, and, under American auspices, to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Philippines." He was assigned to quarters in the house No. 56 Solano Street in the city of Manila and comported himself in a manner that threw no discredit or suspicion upon his professions.

The good effects of Aguinaldo's submission were shown by the surrender in northwestern Panay of thirty officers and 185 men, with 105 rifles, and of twenty-one men and a large number of rifles in northern Mindanao. These surrenders continued, and in the middle of April the island of Panay was declared to be completely pacified. There was trouble, however, in the island of Samar, where the inhabitants were terrorized by the insurgent general Lukban, with several hundred men armed with rifles, and including many bolomen. The surrender of General Tinio with his command at Sinait, Northern Luzon, April 30, resulted in that district being also declared fully pacified. General S. B. M. Young, who had been commanding in Northern Luzon, said that the greatest obstacles to pacification were the two formidable secret societies, the Katipunan and the Sandathan, the first of which was of a military character, with many of its members leaders of the insurrection. The other was civil and included every native who sympathized with the insurgent cause. Its members collected funds, bought arms and spied upon the movements of our troops. They bitterly hated Americans and were skillful, crafty and treacherous.

Matters seemed steadily pressing toward a complete extinguishment of the embers of rebellion. Bands of rebels continually surrendered in different sections, and when any of them came in collision with the American troops, their disastrous defeat was inevitable. About the middle of May, a band of Philippine brigands in the province of Pampanga, not far from Manila, was extirpated. General Fredrick D. Grant on arriving at San Francisco, May 18, 1901, spoke encouragingly of the situation in the islands. "Everything," said he, "is settling down to a peaceful basis, and we are getting at the real work of governing and teaching the people. Their peculiar national character makes them hard subjects for the present. You must remember that they were originally only pirates, that the civilization is of the fourteenth, if not of the fifteenth cen-

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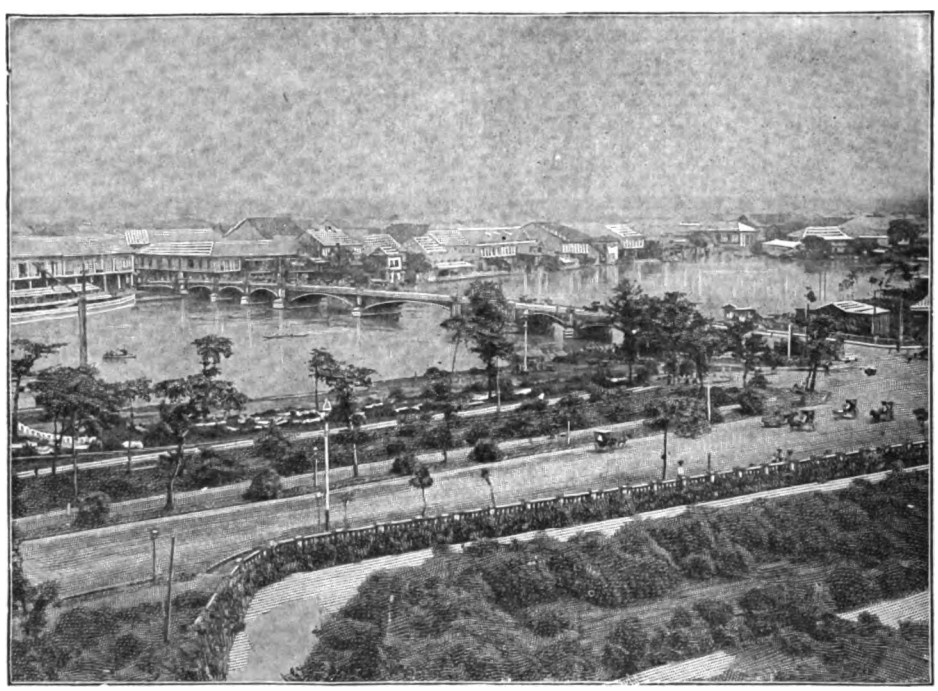
tury, and the tendency to brigandize is so great among them that it amounts to a disease. In many districts the paying of tribute to robbers is considered the regular thing, no more out of the way than taxes. Our task now is to give them good government in their municipalities, to protect them against themselves until they acquire a taste for order, and then withdraw gradually from active interference, leaving the towns one at a time as we see that they can be trusted; but we must have our troops within striking distance for some time after we leave any district, so as to insure it against a relapse. We must expect much robbery, and brigandage, and pillage, and even murder for a long time.

"It is surprising to see the results we have obtained, getting law and order into these people, in the few months of comparative peace since the advance following election. My district included the provinces of Bulacan, Pampanga and Bataan, with a population of six hundred thousand, all Tagalog provinces, and considered the most lawless



MANILA AND THE PASIG RIVER, WITH THE OLD STONE BRIDGE CONNECTING THE WALLED CITY WITH BINONDO.

in the islands. . . . Now there is not a robber band in the whole district, a condition unknown in the whole history of the Filipino people. We have in every town in the district a local government under a legal civilian governor. We are building roads and teaching the people."

Two days after these remarks were made, General MacArthur released one thousand native prisoners as an expression of satisfaction over the surrender of Generals Mascardo and Lacuna. Still other submissions followed, and it seemed as if the whole archipelago was sweeping toward permanent peace and tranquillity, but such was by no means the case.

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Matters in the Sulu Archipelago were found in anything but a satisfactory shape when visited by the Taft Commission in the spring of 1901. The institutions of slavery and polygamy were as vigorous as ever, and it was clear that the first attempt to abolish them would be instantly followed by insurrection. Judge Taft assured the sultan that his government had no purpose to interfere with the religion, habits and customs of the people. The petty chiefs know no law except the Koran, which each interprets according to his own views. Army officers who were familiar with the situation declared that it would be impossible to set up a native civil government, and for the time no effort was made in that direction.

On the 21st of June, 1901, the President, through the Secretary of War, issued an order for the establishment of civil government in the Philippines. William H. Taft, president of the Philippine Commission, was vested with executive authority in all civil affairs heretofore exercised by the military governor, and the existing municipal and provincial civil governments were to report to the new civil governor. Henceforward, the civil governor, with the advice and consent of the Commission, was to exercise the power of appointing civil officers, previously invested in the Commission, or in the military governor, who was relieved from the performance of the civil duties which were assumed by the civil governor; but the authority of the military governor was continued in districts in which insurrection still existed or where public safety demanded the exercise of such authority. The order went into effect on July 4, on which day Mr. Taft was inducted into office as the first civil governor of the islands under American rule. On the same date, General Adna R. Chaffee succeeded General MacArthur as military governor. After taking the oath of office, Governor Taft made an address to the large number of spectators gathered at the ceremonial, which was encouraging, hopeful and in good taste. The first meeting of the legislative chamber was held July 26, and at the session Mr. Wright of the Civil Commission declared that Manila, under its new charter, would soon be one of the best governed cities in the world. The charter, however, was strongly condemned by several members of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce, which declared it inconsistent with the principles of the "freest government on earth" to deny the right of suffrage to the people of the Philippine capital, while granting it to small municipalities. In their opinion, the proposed system was far less liberal than that offered by the Spanish authorities which made the city officials elective.

The new American charter vested the legislative and executive authority in a board of three members appointed by the governor, with an advisory board to represent each district also named by the governor. During the month following June 1, in the Sorgoson province, 1,681 insurgents surrendered. It must be noted also that considerable friction existed between General MacArthur and Governor-General Otis, at different dates during 1899.

It was found necessary on July 18, 1901, after three months' trial of civil administration, to place the islands of Cebu, Bohol and Batangas again under military supervision, but the civil officials of the provinces were to continue to hold their places and to exercise their functions, in subjection to the military. The natives of Cebu strongly

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protested against this step, but it was necessary that it should be taken. This was shown by the fact that several of the municipalities were besieged by insurgent forces. In Bohol the insurrection was of the most formidable character, and the province of Batangas was so disaffected toward Americans that it was occupied by the Twentieth Infantry.

The Civil Commission decided that Spanish should be for the next five years the language of the law courts, but it was provided that an oral argument might be made in English and interpreted in Spanish, or that a brief might be drawn up in English, accompanied by a Spanish translation, or that with the consent of the court and all the parties in the case, English might be substituted for Spanish, but the official record should always be in Spanish.

The Civil Commission voted $25,000 for the organization and maintenance of a normal school in Manila for that year, and the first term was opened April 10 by the acting principal, Dr. David P. Barrows, formerly of San Diego, Cal., and was continued for a month. The success was highly gratifying. Dr. Barrows sent letters to all the American instructors in the archipelago, asking them to co-operate in inducing the native teachers to attend the school. He was hopeful that by united and energetic effort 350 might be persuaded to apply for matriculation, but by the middle of the first week more than 600 had asked for admission, and many were obliged to find accommodation in an additional building. Nothing could have been more encouraging than the results of this wise effort. A noteworthy fact was that quite a number of native youths left the Philippines for Japan in order to secure the great advantage of the advanced schools there. Nearly all of these youths belonged to the higher class, and they won high favor by their eagerness to learn and by their correct deportment.

General MacArthur's annual report to the Secretary of War was published August 8. In it he insisted on the necessity of maintaining in the islands a well-organized military and naval force to protect present and future American interests in the archipelago, but he was confident that if the beneficent policy of the United States should find opportunity to act with full force, the native inhabitants would become firmly attached to the American government, both out of gratitude and self-interest.

Accompanying this report was that of Brigadier-General Kobbé, commanding the department of Mindanao and Jolo, who said that "slavery, as the term is usually understood, does not exist among the Moros, and radical and comprehensive measures to abolish it at that time will be premature and ineffective. The slaves and masters belong to the same race and live on equal social terms." Major O. J. Sweet of the Twenty-third Infantry, commanding the third district of General Kobbé's department, said that although slavery was not recognized by the United States it was still a fact and a constant source of trouble. Thousands of Moros who by right were free people were sold as slaves.

Notwithstanding all the favorable indications named, and many incidents not given, perfect peace was delayed in coming to the islands. Early in August a battalion of the Thirtieth Volunteer Infantry occupied the towns of Calapan, Naujan and Pola on the northeastern coast of Mindoro. The insurgents, after offering a weak resistance, fled

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into the interior of the island. Their commander was a man named Howard, who was a deserter from the United States army.

The sultan and some of the chiefs in the island of Jolo added to the liveliness of the situation by fighting among themselves, the American authorities letting them alone, except when it became necessary to interfere. Aguinaldo having flitted, Miguel Malvar was recognized by the junta at Hong Kong as his successor. In a proclamation, issued on July 16, he begged to assure his countrymen that the insurrection would be vigorously pressed, and he was confident that success awaited them. This document furthermore informed the Filipinos that four American generals had been slain a few days before, and the forces of the invaders were continually suffering loss of war material. General Cailles, the insurgent leader, who had made submission, was outlawed by Malvar and notified that he was to suffer death for his treachery to the Filipino cause, while all who surrendered to the Americans were warned that their lives would never be safe outside of the invaders' lines. Fifty thousand copies of this proclamation were distributed, and they assured the insurgents that their leader had enough arms and ammunition to continue the war indefinitely.

The military authorities decided to add four companies of infantry to the garrison of Manila, though General Chaffee expressed himself as having no fears of a general uprising. At the same time an insular constabulary was organized to consist of 10,000 men. These and many other evidences showed that peace was by no means fully established in the Philippines.

At the same time, the English merchants energetically contested every advantage with the American merchants. Several firms practically controlled the whole commercial field, hemp, sugar, copra, rice, cocoa, including transportation, banking and insurance, with their agents everywhere throughout the islands. A correspondent of the New York *Tribune* said: "If citizens of the United States are to control Philippine business, their first step will have to be the establishment of their own bank here. And it seems incredible that no American bank has been established here to date, for, with the entire insular government and army as its patrons, its profits would be immediate and magnificent. Ever since American occupation the English banks have received the benefits of millions of dollars of government deposits, and American business men here are justly indignant at the course taken by these banks in withholding ordinary business courtesy from the citizens of a government that is so favoring them."

The transport *Ingalls*, which left New York August 22, took fourteen male teachers for the schools in the islands. It was learned at the same time that four hundred American teachers had arrived at Manila. This completed the number needed, and it was announced that no more applications by instructors could be considered. An interesting episode of this outward voyage was that thirty couple became so mutually charmed that on reaching Honolulu they were married. This is a peril, or perhaps a contingency, against which all precautions are in vain.

Congressman John A. T. Hull from Iowa, like many others high in station, made a tour of the Philippines to see and learn things for himself. On his return to San Francisco, he was asked for his views, and said:

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"At present everything is quiet in Mindanao, but if missionaries ever get down there, there will be serious trouble. The Moros are Mahometans, and polygamy is part of their religion. Just as soon as preachers get to work among them, preaching against plural wives, our difficulties will begin, and when these people rebel we shall have our hands full. They are a fierce, warlike tribe, who do not know what surrender means. Like all Moslems they are fanatical to the last degree and will fight for their religion to the last. They are a stay-at-home race, and have mingled little with other islanders, and they retain all the traits of their ancestors. Spain never made any attempt to govern them, and thus avoided trouble. As long as we do not meddle with their affairs there is little danger of conflict, but any attempt to make them conform to our standards of morality or religion will provoke war. There are not less than three hundred thousand Moros, and war with them would make our trouble with the Filipinos look like child's play."

The law of religious liberty and freedom of conscience being established, the question arose as to what was likely to be the choice of the Filipinos among the different creeds or religions. Various shrewd speculations have been made, but, after all, the question is one which can be best left to the future to decide. The natives displayed a bitter enmity toward the religious orders, and in Pangasinian two Dominican friars were mobbed at the doors of their convent, and in Cebu an Augustine friar was quieted by the hisses and jeers in a church.

The Secretary of War in his annual report recommended the acquisition by the United States government of the agricultural lands held by religious orders—Dominicans, Augustinians and Recoletos, which lands amount to something over 400,000 acres. The native tenantry who occupy them are intensely hostile to the friars, and this hostility, which is of long duration, was one of the chief causes of the rebellion against Spanish rule. As it was impossible for the friars longer to occupy them peacefully, the true course seemed to be for them to be purchased by the State upon proper terms, and then offered to the tenants or to the other people on the island. To do this, it would be necessary to obtain the money from other sources than the ordinary revenues of the Philippine government.

The mercantile business increased during the year. The merchandise imported, excluding army supplies, amounted to more than thirty millions, an increase of about fifty per cent. over the previous year, with a less increase in the exports. The imports from the United States showed an increase of 72.4 per cent. over those of 1900, but the exports to the United States declined 27 per cent. The ratio of increase of imports from Great Britain, Germany, France and the British East Indies exceeded that from the United States. While the revenues of the Philippine government in 1900 were $6,722,852.18, they reached a year later, $10,817,622.31.

Reference has already been made to the decision of the United States Supreme Court, as made December 2, 1901, which established the following points:

First—The Constitution does not follow the flag until it is planted on new territory by special act of Congress.

Second—The extension of the sovereignty of the United States to new territory

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carries with it all the constitutional guarantees of the enjoyment of liberty, the right to property and the protection of the United States to the people thus affected in securing justice and maintaining public order and promoting peaceful progress.

Third—The islands acquired from Spain by the treaty of Paris are "property of the United States" in the strict sense in which that term is used in the Constitution, and, this being the case, Congress can dispose of these islands in any way which it may believe to be conducive to the highest interests alike of the people of the United States and of these islands.

Thus three species of American territory are recognized: States, incorporated Territories and unincorporated territory, or territory belonging to the United States. It follows further that we have three species or grades of citizenship. Those vested with full and sovereign political power, or the residents of the States; citizens of the incorporated Territories, who are not vested with full and sovereign political power so long as they are residents of the incorporated Territories, in that they cannot vote for presidential electors; the people of the "territory appurtenant to the United States," as such, who cannot become citizens of the United States until Congress extends to the territory all the provisions of the Constitution.

General Chaffee's annual report was published at Washington December 6. He advised that the withdrawal of the troops should not be effected too hurriedly. When undertaken it should be "more in the nature of concentration than reduction of force or abandonment of any considerable area of territory." He urged that no reduction of the force should be made before January, 1903. Between June 10 and September 15, 1901, 361 Filipino officers and 3,683 men surrendered and 26 officers and 494 men were taken prisoners. Judge Advocate-General Groesbeck, whose report was appended to that of General Chaffee, said that the suppression of brigandage was one of the most trying problems of the situation. If the military arm were free to deal with the marauders, there would be a speedy end of the trouble, but with the extension of civil government the situation was complicated.

One of the most exasperating facts that came to light was that a considerable number of American soldiers had joined the insurgents. It was said that Lukban, the insurgent leader in Samar, had fifty of these miscreants in his service, and it was they who prevented the chief from surrendering. When the Filipino peace commission landed at the principal port of Samar, the rebels opened fire on the town with heavy guns, and American officers and privates declared that they repeatedly heard the voices of deserters among their ranks.

On January 4, the War Department published the text of a proclamation to the American soldiers, which was signed by nine Americans, seven of whom had been in the military service.

The following is the opening paragraph, with the names of the signers:

"Dear Fellow Countrymen: After many months among the Filipino people, studying their customs and characters, we, the undersigned, have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived for us to break the silence and let you know the real truth, so that you will see the folly of continuation of fighting these people, who are defending their

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country against the cruel American invasion in the same manner in which our forefathers did against England in those glorious days of our grand and noble liberator, General George Washington."

The names of the signers are given as follows:

"Harry Horal Alman, Company K.

John Blake, Trumpeter, Company B, 28th United States Infantry.

Frank L. Clark, Company F, 21st United States Infantry.

J. Thomas Kreider, Corporal, 38th United States Volunteer Infantry.

Charles Buchanan, Company B, 28th Volunteer Infantry.

Harry Richter, 6th United States Artillery.

Charley Wright, Hospital Corps.

Fitzhugh Smith.

John Ryan, 4th Regiment."

Governor Taft was before the Senate Philippines Committee several times and examined regarding the conditions of affairs in the islands. In the course of his testimony, he stated that nowhere among them were there any regularly constructed highways, when the United States assumed control, but a million dollars had already been expended in the improvement of the roads, both for strategic and for commercial ends. One cause of the interruption of the industries was the decimating of the water buffalo, which had been employed almost universally in field work and in transportation. Three-fourths of these useful animals had died within the preceding two years, owing to the ravages of rinderpest. The most practical remedy was the introduction of mules and of a good breed of milk-producing animals.

The governor estimated the Filipinos or Christians in the islands at 6,000,000 and the heathens at from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000, with the Moros at 1,000,000. All the trouble came from the so-called Christians.

"The Filipino," said Governor Taft, "is attached first to his town and second to his province; he is now forming an attachment for the name Filipino; on the pride of country I base my hope in the success of what we are doing in the islands."

Perhaps seven per cent. of the people read and write Spanish, but the inhabitants of the different provinces do not understand one another's language. The 835 American teachers find the native instructors zealous to learn and the people are eager to have their children taught. The priests were planning to set up parish schools in some places, but the great mass of the people are densely ignorant, superstitious and as credulous as so many young children.

A noteworthy declaration by Governor Taft was that 15,000 men would be sufficient in a year from that time to garrison the islands. The commercial men of Manila were asked their opinion of this view and the majority agreed with it, provided Congress should enact laws that would favor trade with the islands and stimulate business enterprise. The president of the American chamber of commerce at Manila wished Congress to open the country to mining enterprise, agricultural development, lumbering and forestry. Such action would be followed by American capital seeking investment in the Philippines, whither American miners and homestead seekers would flock in large numbers.

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Asked as to the reports of barbarous cruelties inflicted upon the natives by American soldiers, Mr. Taft gave it as his judgment that no war was ever conducted in which more compassion and self-restraint were shown. The most horrible mutilations had been perpetrated on American prisoners, and this being true, it was not to be wondered at that small bands sometimes retaliated in kind. The very nature of war itself makes such lamentable cruelties inevitable.

As I have said, Congress contains a goodly number of members who regard the war in the Philippines as unjustifiable on our part. Early in February, 1902, Senator Hoar of Massachusetts presented a petition praying for suspension of hostilities in the islands, and asking that opportunity be given for discussing the situation there. This petition was signed by Carl Schurz, Geo. F. Edmunds, Judson Harmon, J. Sterling Morton, Geo. W. Boutwell, Chas. F. Adams, W. D. Howells, Mark Twain, Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, W. Bourke Cockran, Robert Treat Paine, T. K. Boyesen, Bishop Huntington, Bishop Vincent, Anson Phelps Stokes, John Burroughs, William Lloyd Garrison, by thirty-six professors in the University of Chicago and a large number of other educators.

As proof of the unrest still existing in many quarters, it was stated that on March 3, at Morong, only ten miles from Manila, twenty-five men of the local constabulary encountered eighty well-armed insurgents, who, after expending all their ammunition, fled. Eleven of the constabulary were missing after the collision, and it was believed they had been killed or captured. Either fate was as hopeless as the other.

Early in March, Governor Taft while in Washington received from Mr. Wright, acting civil governor of the Philippines, a careful statement of affairs in the islands. He said that in the whole of Luzon there were not three hundred ladrones or insurgents in arms. The sentiment of the people was strong against them, and the situation had never been so good as at the time of the writing of this report. After studying the statement and thoroughly looking over the situation, Governor Taft expressed himself as confident that by 1907-8, the natives would be in condition to govern themselves the same as the inhabitants of any other Territory in the United States. As soon as Congress fixed the form of government and settled the tariff and other questions, there would be a great influx of American capital and a development of the splendid resources of the islands. That this prophecy may be verified is the fervent wish of every American patriot and friend of the Philippines.

The man who can find the means of bringing about continual harmonious relations between Capital and Labor will confer one of the greatest boons on civilization, and in no country is there so urgent call for a solution of the problem as in our own. It may be doubted whether a single month has passed during the last decade in which there was not one strike or more in some parts of the country. Many of these assumed formidable proportions, and, in accordance with the general rule, were accompanied by disorder, and, in some instances, crimes of the most dreadful nature.

In more than one instance, the striking workmen have had good ground for complaint, and their employers have been censurable for not listening to their grievances and making at least partial concessions to the demands. On the other hand, it must be

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admitted that in too many cases the men who quit work have not only interfered with those employed to take their places, but have destroyed property, shed blood and taken human life.

Arbitration is the true method of settling such quarrels, but manifestly there can be no arbitration without the consent of both parties. When the employer answers such a proposal with the reply: "There is nothing to arbitrate," and appeals to the law, the protection of the law cannot be denied him. The solution is no nearer when the employee is deaf to all propositions which do not give him all he asks. And so the unhappy state of affairs continues and no one can see any promise of improvement.

The strike which caused the most widespread inconvenience and suffering was that which closed the Pennsylvania coal mines in the summer of 1902. Like the rumblings of a volcano, mutterings were heard in the anthracite region in the spring. At a convention held in Hazleton, the miners demanded an increase of 20 per cent. wages, an eight-hour workday, and a reduction of the 2,750 pounds ton to 2,240 pounds. The employers refused to concede this and the strike was ordered. It may be said that there was hardly a home east of the Mississippi which did not suffer discomfort from the sudden cessation of coal-mining operations. The price of the necessity rose rapidly to five and six times its usual price, and in many instances could not be obtained at all. In a large measure, wood took its place, and the cost of that grew to alarming proportions. Americans are a peculiarly inventive people, and numerous substitutes were found for coal. Oil stoves, with their unpleasant odor, came into use, and when one genius discovered that a brick soaked in oil gave out continuous heat, an extraordinary demand for the baked cubes of clay was created.

Meanwhile, efforts were pressed to bring about an understanding between the miners and the mine owners. The situation in the coal regions became so bad that in July a large number of State militia were sent thither. Such pressure was brought to bear on President Roosevelt that in October he asked John Mitchell, President of the Miners' Association, and the chief coal operators to come to Washington to discuss the situation with him. The operators rejected the offer of arbitration, and matters remained at a deadlock. Governor Stone ordered the whole National Guard of Pennsylvania into the turbulent district.

On October 13 John P. Morgan laid a statement of the coal operators before the President, agreeing to submit the dispute to arbitrators, with the provision that pending a settlement the strikers should resume work, and refrain from all interference with the non-union men who had been employed to take their places. This practically was the end of the strike, for the miners accepted the commission named by the President and returned to work.

The Commission was an able one, and when it made its report it very properly censured both parties to the quarrel: the operators for refusing proper consideration to the grievances of the miners, and the latter for their violence toward the non-union men. The plan of settlement was accepted by all concerned, the mines were opened, and this important industry speedily grew to its former proportions.

The most frightful among the numerous labor strikes of late years occurred in Colo-

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WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

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rado in 1904. In the preceding year the Western Federation of Miners was organized and soon embraced the principal mining camps of that section. A strike at Cripple Creek in 1903 was settled, but some time later the charge was made that the manager at Colorado City had not taken back as many union men as he had agreed to employ, and a strike was ordered in the mills at that place. In August a general strike in the district was declared. Over 3,000 miners stopped work because of the insignificant dispute at Colorado City. It will be understood that the aim of this wholesale strike was to bring such pressure upon the employers at Colorado City that they would be compelled to yield.

The mine owners now organized under the name of the Mine Owners' Association, and the hostile forces savagely confronted each other. The union miners were determined to allow no non-union men to take their places, and the mine owners were as bitterly resolute that this should be done. They brought several hundred new men into the district and the furious war was on. The strikers were so much more numerous that they would have crushed these strangers, and their fifty armed guards, had not Governor Peabody, in answer to urgent appeals, sent troops into the region.

This enforced peace for a time, since the soldiers had the power to do so and did it. The most prominent leaders in the strike were arrested and thrown into jail. Both sides committed crimes and unlawful acts, and Governor Peabody, with a view of ridding the State of what he believed to be its most dangerous and threatening element, drove many over the border at the point of the bayonet, with the warning that they would be shot on sight, if they ventured to return. None the less many did return in the course of the following weeks and months, and in the early summer of 1904 they gave terrible proof of their presence. About six miles from Cripple Creek, a train containing a number of non-union miners, while it was drawing near a railway station, was blown up by a charge of dynamite, which instantly killed thirteen and injured several others so badly that they died. The criminals carefully guarded their secret, and martial law was again declared in the country. The whole country was shocked by the appalling crime, the like of which was never before known on this side of the Atlantic.

You have learned how our government, in 1803, purchased the immense territory of Louisiana from France, thus by one act more than doubling the area of the country. The centennial of this important event was celebrated by an Exposition, held at St. Louis, from May 1 to December 1, 1904. The various buildings were dedicated in the spring of the preceding year, when, among the addresses, was one by President Roosevelt. Ex-President Cleveland was the orator of the day, and the audience included some of the foremost citizens of foreign countries and the United States.

The most impressive features of the exhibition were its immensity and variety. Fifty million dollars were expended in making it a typical representation of the material and intellectual advance of our country during the preceding century. In no field has this progress been more amazing than that of electricity. Never before in the history of the world was seen such a display of electrical inventions and devices. There were electrical locomotives, recording telephones, telegraph transmitters, storage batteries—all telling of newer triumphs that are soon to come.

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The exhibit of locomotives showed the advances from the first crude machine weighing a few tons to the magnificent engines of to-day, which are capable of attaining a speed of a hundred miles an hour, including a freight locomotive with a weight of 233 tons.

The American automobiles numbered more than a hundred, among which was the one that ran from San Francisco to New York in 62 days. The Cunard line exhibited a model of their first steamer and of their latest and most improved one, and the development of the useful air brake was clearly illustrated.

It would require pages to describe the wonderful array, which attracted visitors from every part of the civilized world. A list of the most important would show the different methods of education in the various States, of Germany, England, France, Mexico, Japan and the leading foreign nations; the Philippine Reservation, with its interesting groups of native savages and civilized men and women, animals and fishes; and the anthropology exhibit, wherein was shown the evolution of men from the prehistoric cave-dwellers to the present lofty plane of civilization. The St. Louis Exposition will long hold its place as the most important and instructive in the history of the American Republic.

The year 1904 saw the regular quadrennial presidential election. While there were nominations made by minor parties, the real contest, as a matter of course, lay between the Republicans and Democrats. The former held their convention in Chicago, June 21. The leading place on the ticket had been conceded for weeks to Theodore Roosevelt, and he was unanimously nominated. The candidate for Vice-President was Charles W. Fairbanks, born in Ohio, in 1852, and elected United States Senator in January, 1897. The platform covered the usual ground, commending the record of the party, and promising for the future a continuance of the same policy.

The Democratic National Convention met in St. Louis, nearly a month later. Its main difference from the Republican assemblage lay in the fact that no one could name the man who would be nominated. Votes were cast for Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, W. R. Hearst, A. P. Gorman, S. M. Cockrell, Olney, Wall, Gray, Harmon, Kilbourne, and Folk,. After a heated struggle, the nomination went to Judge Parker. When the news reached Judge Parker, at his home in Esopus, N. Y., he telegraphed to his friends at St. Louis that he regarded the gold standard as "firmly and irrevocably established," and, since the platform was silent on the subject, he meant that his sentiments should be known, so that, if the convention was dissatisfied, it could select another standard bearer.

This telegram produced a sensation, but the convention stood by its nominee, and named as his "running mate" Henry Gassaway Davis of Maryland. Mr. Davis was in his eighty-second year, but physically and mentally was the equal of most men of two-thirds of his age. He was self-made, very wealthy, had been United States Senator and had held many offices of trust and honor.

Judge Parker was born in New York in 1852, educated for the law, and in 1885 was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of New York. In 1894, he became Judge of the General Term of the Court of Appeals, and two years later he was elected Chief Judge, defeating his Republican opponent.

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The presidential election in November, 1904, resulted in a great surprise even for those who believed that Roosevelt's popularity would carry him triumphantly into the presidential chair. The total popular vote cast was 13,528,979, of which Roosevelt received 7,624,489 and Parker 5,082,74, giving Roosevelt the unprecedented plurality of 2,541,635. The electoral vote stood: Roosevelt 336, Parker 140.

A great calamity befell Chicago on the afternoon of December 25, 1903. An audience, largely of women and children, was assembled in the Iroquois theater in that city, when a fire broke out above the stage. Immediately a wild panic began, the details of which are too harrowing to describe. In the mad rush to escape from the burning building, hundreds were crushed, maimed, or killed, and the final count reached the total of five hundred and eighty-eight dead. As in most catastrophes called "accidents," it was found that the slaughter was the result of criminal carelessness and the deliberate risking of human life for the sake of gain. The Iroquois theater, though new, was not provided adequately with safety appliances, and the same conditions were found to obtain in other theaters, in churches, and in other public places. The lesson of the Iroquois was taken to heart not only in Chicago, where the mayor at once closed the theaters until they complied with the law, but elsewhere throughout the country. Measures were very generally taken to safeguard the public in places of resort, new legislation was enacted, and the terrible calamity resulted in greater protection of life.

On Sunday, February 7, 1904, a fire started in the business portion of Baltimore, which rapidly grew to a disastrous conflagration. Fire-fighters were summoned from other cities, even New York sending her share, but the flames could not be subdued until practically the whole of the financial district, more than seventy-five city blocks, covering one hundred and forty acres, was wiped out. The fire was the most staggering blow ever dealt the city; but at once Baltimore faced the situation and entered upon the work of restoration. Within a year the business section was rebuilt on better lines than before. Narrow streets were widened, graded, and straightened, and the improved conditions are the best monument to the city's pluck and resources.

On June 15, 1904, New York was visited by a disaster as great and as inexcusable as that which had befallen Chicago six months before. The steamboat *General Slocum*, with a party of eleven hundred, chiefly women and children, left the city for a Sunday-school picnic. At Hell Gate fire was discovered in the bow of the steamer, and the captain, instead of heading for either shore, ran the boat ahead, intending to reach an island two miles farther north. No better plan for giving the flames the needful draught could have been devised, and after twenty minutes of indescribable panic the vessel was consumed with a loss of over nine hundred of her passengers. The crew was demoralized and left the victims to shift for themselves. The life-preservers were found to be worse than useless, and again was shown how little human life may count against the greed for gain.

The disaster brought forward many heroes, men and women in all ranks of life, who, at their own risk, saved many of the unfortunates. The excursion had been organized by a church of the crowded east side of New York, and in some cases whole

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families were wiped out, while in others but a single member was left. The community was deeply stirred, and at once provided means of relief for the survivors. The federal government immediately started a searching inquiry, which developed the fact that most of the pleasure craft in New York waters were equally ill equipped with dishonestly made and inadequate apparatus. Like the Iroquois disaster, the *Slocum* calamity resulted in regulations intended to protect the traveling public.

No city has had more difficult transportation problems to solve than New York. Its situation on an island and its shape confine transportation lines chiefly to one direction, and the available streets have long been occupied to their utmost capacity by surface and elevated roads. The problem of underground transportation was first definitely approached in 1888, but without results until 1900, when work was begun on a subway, one of the greatest and most difficult works of municipal engineering ever attempted. It necessitated tunneling through rock and earth, sometimes near the crowded surface, sometimes many feet below, without disturbing the intricate system of sewers, gas and water pipes, electric and steam conduits, and with as little interference as possible with the city's traffic. The choice of William Barclay Parsons, later of the Panama Commission, made the task possible of accomplishment, and on October 27, 1904, the subway was opened for traffic. The event, so important for the development of New York, was fittingly celebrated, and at once the subway took its place as an everyday and familiar accessory of city life. It runs from the Battery, the lower extremity of the city, to 156th street, with a branch under the Harlem river to Bronx Park. The section first opened, from City Hall to 145th street, cost $40,000,000 and was completed in four years and seven months. During construction fifty persons lost their lives by accident. The road employs about four thousand men. At the beginning of 1906, the East River was being tunneled from the Battery to Brooklyn, where the subway was under construction. Many extensions are planned which, with the various tunnels under the North and East rivers now being built, will give New York, at last, an adequate system of passenger transportation.

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CHAPTER XIX.

ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION, 1905—CONTINUED—WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENTS IN SCIENCE AND INVENTION.

THE closing years of the nineteenth and perhaps all of the twentieth century will be forever memorable because of the marvelous achievements in science and invention. The most amazing of discoveries have been made, and they are rapidly multiplying, so that it is no longer safe to declare anything impossible of accomplishment.

Suppose some one had declared a hundred years ago that the time was coming when news could be flashed around the globe in a few seconds, when across the bottom of the ocean would be stretched tiny wires that would enable the newspapers each morning to publish tidings from the uttermost part of the civilized world. The man who made such a declaration would have been set down as a lunatic and jeered into speechlessness. But he might have foretold other things, had he possessed the gift of prophecy, that would have sounded none the less astounding and incredible.

Think of the printing presses that print thousands upon thousands of complete copies of huge newspapers every hour, when in the time of Benjamin Franklin the paper was a small affair printed on a small handpress. The "perfecting press" turns out 100,000 four-page newspapers an hour, folded, pasted, and printed on both sides. A century ago 250 copies an hour was a large number and those were printed only on one side.

Have you read the pathetic lines of Tom Hood, "The Song of the Shirt"? You have seen your mother toil with her needle, and no machine can be made that will surpass her skill in that line, but the sewing machine has enabled a girl to do the work of scores of women toiling with the tiny old-fashioned needle.

There, too, were the reaper, the mower, the horse-rake and the thresher, of which Secretary Seward said they had more than doubled the rate of the advance of civilization westward. You may still find in some of the old almanacs pictures of men toiling in the harvest field with the ancient style sickle, which was an almost useless toy as compared with the modern reaping machine.

You may know that at first the work of plucking and seeding cotton was so slow and laborious that it hardly paid to raise the crop. But toward the close of the eighteenth century a school-teacher named Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, with which one man could do the work that previous to that engaged a thousand men. The culture of cotton quickly jumped to one of the leading industries of the world. It has been said that but for the cotton gin, there never would have been a War for the Union, since the South would not have possessed the wealth (gained through the cotton gin) to warrant making the venture.

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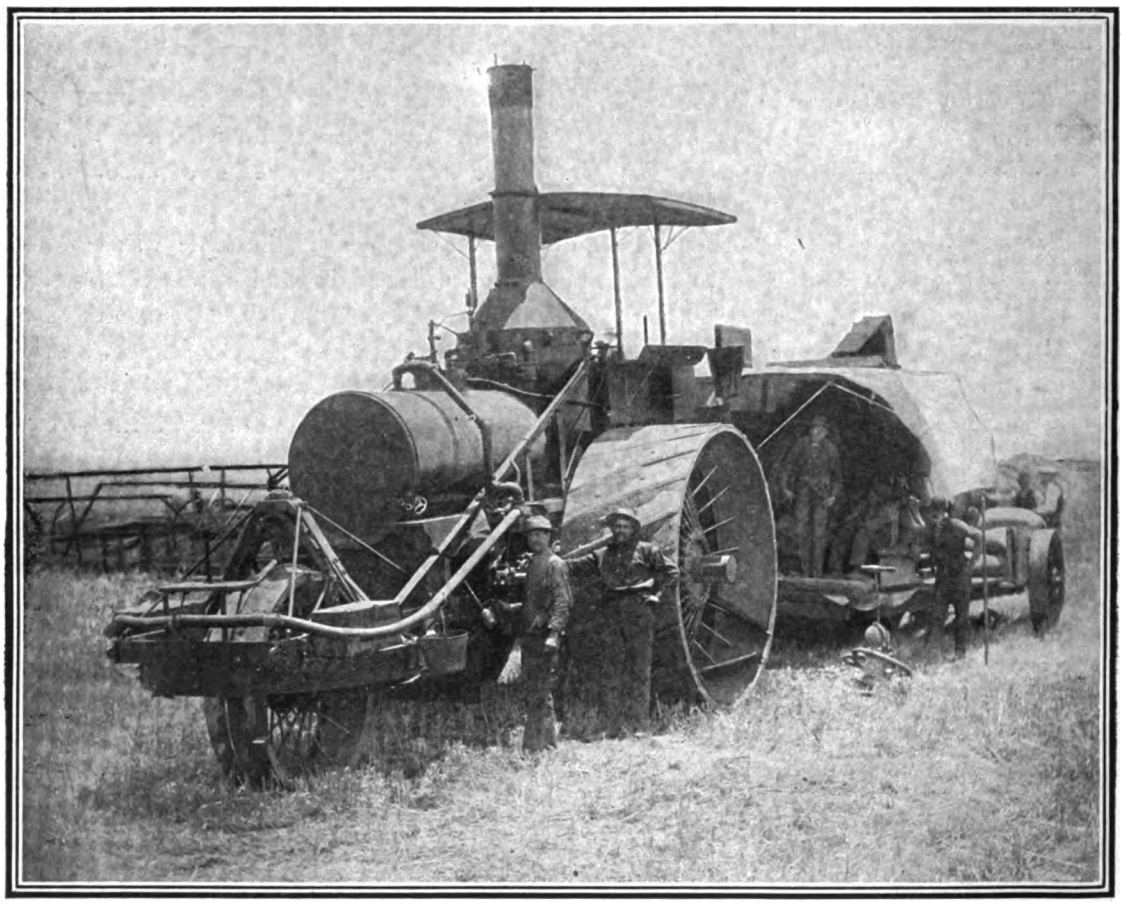
The stage coach between New York and Philadelphia, which, by frequent changes of horses, was able to make the journey in the space of twenty-four hours or more, was so astonishing to the people that it was called a "flying machine." No doubt you have made the same journey in the space of two hours, and a mile a minute is very ordinary speed on a railroad, since Thomas A. Edison has said that when he finds out the way to extract power directly from coal, which he confidently expects to do, thereby saving



A GIANT AUTOMOBILE HARVESTER AT WORK.

the seven eighths of force that is now lost, he will run railway trains at the rate of 150 miles an hour. The journey between New York and San Francisco will be made in twenty-four hours and the ocean steamers will cross the Atlantic in three days.

When the Pilgrims landed on the coast of New England and the cavaliers sailed up the James River to plant the first permanent settlement in the New World, their guns were the old cumbrous firelocks, or snaphances, which had to be supported on some rest, when they were fired from the smoking fuse that was kept burning. The flint-lock was a vast improvement on this, but what comparison can it bear to the modern breech-loading and repeating rifle, with which you can fire as rapidly as you can pump the cartridges into place?

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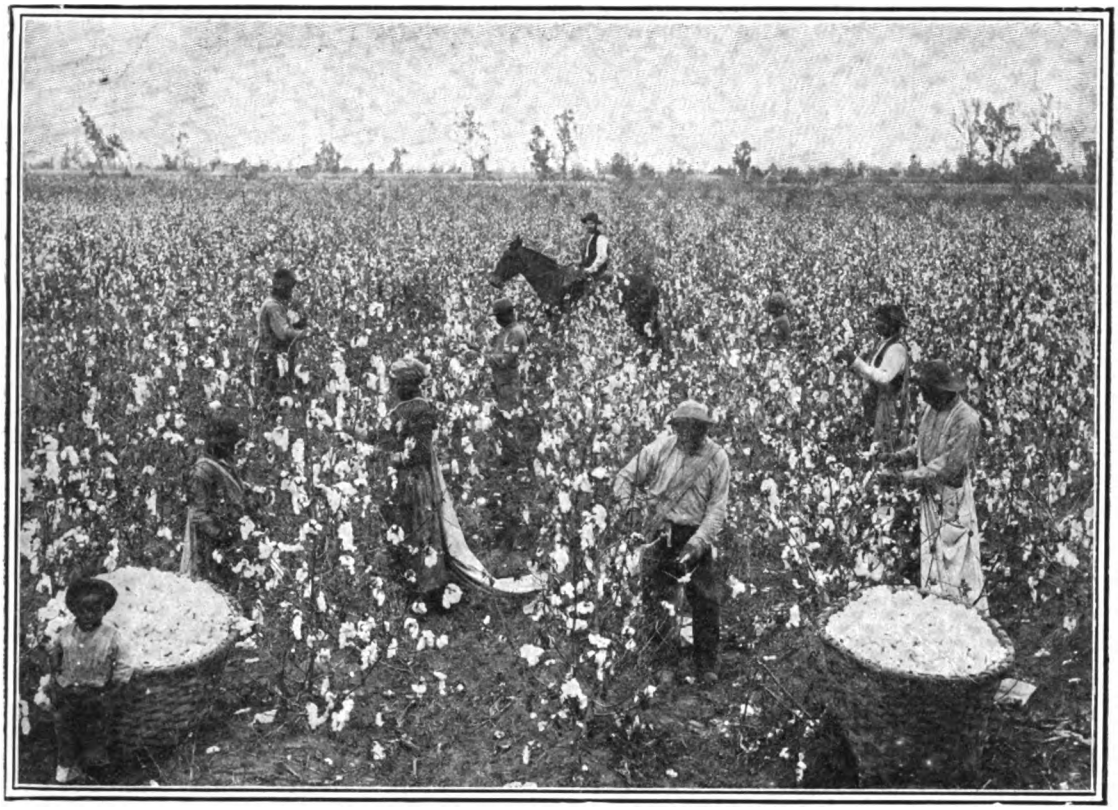
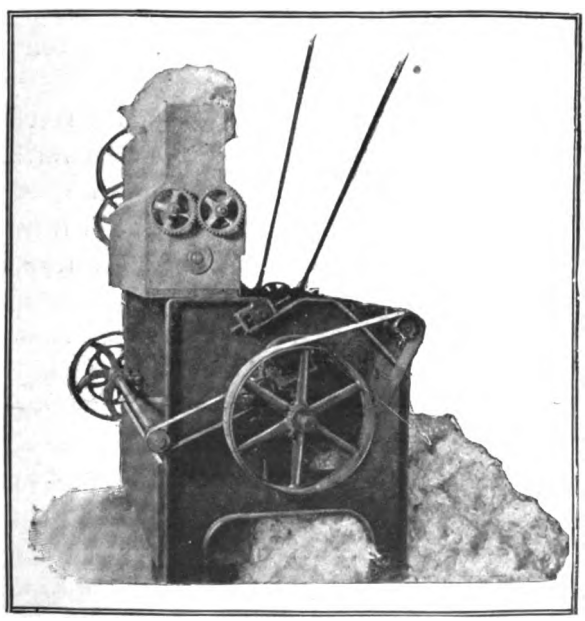
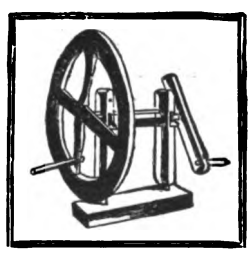


COTTON HARVEST IN THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA.



CHEESMAN COTTON GIN, THE NEWEST INVENTION.



THE IMPROVED INDIACHURKA,
AN EARLY COTTON GIN.

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Houses still burn down as they have always had a habit of doing, but in the olden times lines of men were formed who passed the buckets along from hand to hand until the contents were flung upon the flames, which generally licked them up and raged more furiously than before. Then came the hand-engines, when the sturdy firemen toiled at the brakes until back and arms ached, and they were ready to drop from exhaustion. Now steam does all pumping, and the brave fellows can devote all their energy to saving life and property.

It is only a few years ago that in railway trains there was no provision for sleeping, and a passenger had to double up and cramp himself, and get through the night the best he could. Now comfortable berths are provided, and one can make the journey across the continent in comparative comfort.

When you look at our "sky-scraper" buildings, twenty and more stories in height, pause a moment and think of the task of climbing the stairs all the way from the basement to the top. A few years ago. that would have been the only way to reach the elevation, whereas in these times you are whirled through the different stories without the expenditure of an ounce of strength on your part.

It is only within a brief time that the typewriting machine has been brought to anything like perfection; yet already it has become essential to all modern business men, who have simply to sit down beside the machine and dictate, while the operator's nimble fingers record the words almost as rapidly as they are spoken.

We have long since ceased to wonder at the telegraph, and have already almost ceased to be impressed by the telephone. You place your mouth to a small opening, and hold a little contrivance to your ear, and straightway begin a conversation with a person hundreds of miles away. You recognize the voice of your friend, and talk as if face to face. While doing so think of the cities, towns, forests, rivers, fields, meadows and mountains that stretch between you, and, though science may tell you how it is all done, it does not diminish your wonder that it is done at all.

Then some one sets the crank of the phonograph going, and though the response buzzes and crackles, you easily recognize the words or the song that comes forth in response, and which was spoken into the receiver days, weeks, months or years before. Suppose the phonograph had been known thousands of years ago, what a treat it would be to sit down and hear the voice of Demosthenes, or Cicero, or Julius Cæsar, or any of the heroes of antiquity, or the innumerable kings, queens, poets, philosophers, generals, leaders and great men of the world who lived and moved and spoke, some of them words that are golden, and all too few in number! Coming down more nearly to our own times, what would we not give to hear the voice of Christopher Columbus, or of George Washington and his compatriots! Suppose that some of the words of the Son of Man were thus preserved,—but we shrink from the endless speculation that opens before us.

We are so accustomed to numerous little conveniences that we do not appreciate them. Billions of matches are used every year in this country, and it is hard to think of an easier thing to do than to ignite a fire; but it was different with our grandparents. The cumbrous flint and steel or the burning glass were the sources of flame;

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and since the sun does not always shine, and it requires more dexterity to handle the flint and steel, it was an object after acquiring flame to keep it going as long as possible.

Before the invention of steamboats, men traveled by sailing vessels, or stages, or on horseback. Now, nearly every boy has his bicycle with which he spins ten or twenty or more miles without any appreciable effort or weariness. The automobile is coming into general use, and its speed equals that of the ordinary passenger railway trains of a generation ago.

It is rather curious that with all these enormous discoveries, there is one field in which we have made no substantial advancement—that is, aerostation or the science of navigating the air. A hundred years ago, a big globe of silk was filled with gas lighter than the atmosphere, and a basket attached to the bottom. In this the aeronaut seated himself, gave the command, and those who were holding the balloon to the earth let

WHITE HOUSE STENOGRAPHERS HARD AT WORK.

go and up it sped like a bird, taking the man with it. If he wished to ascend still higher he emptied some of the bags of sand in the car, while, if he wished to descend, he pulled the rope that opened a valve in the upper part of the silken sphere and allowed a part of the gas to escape. To be prepared for any accident, he had an umbrella-like arrangement in the interior of the balloon, called a parachute, which would spread out and retard his descent when the balloon exploded or came down too rapidly for safety.

Such was the Montgolfier balloon of a hundred and more years ago. There have been numerous modifications of the same, but little practical advance has been made. Santos-Dumont guided his airship around the Eiffel Tower and back again, and a great deal of ingenuity has been shown in the construction of what are termed dirigible balloons—that is, those that can be controlled and navigated by the aeronaut at will, like a ship on the water, but nothing yet has been invented that can make headway

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against a strong wind, or that is under perfect control at all times. So long as a pin-prick, the slipping of a delicate cog, or the slightest disarrangement of the complicated machinery is sufficient to send the aeronaut to death and his contrivance to hopeless smash (and we have not got beyond that point as yet), it cannot be said that the problem of navigating the air has been solved.

I need not tell you that there are seven primary colors: violet, indigo, blue, green, yellow, orange, and red. Try to think of a new color; it is impossible. There are many shades, and you may be able to make numerous variations, but all will be based on the seven primary ones named. And yet it is unsafe to say that some time a new color will not be discovered.

When we think of what has been accomplished during the last few years, we are apt to feel a certain pride and sense of congratulation. We pity our forefathers and wonder that they knew so little compared with what we know. But how will it be a half or whole century from now? Will not our descendants look back with sympathy upon us, and think with what little warrant we boasted of our achievements?

The time may be coming when every man will have his personal balloon ready at his door, with which he can go and come as he chooses without regard to wind or weather. Before the twentieth century closes something may be devised by which a house will never under any circumstances burn down, and no lives ever be lost through fire and conflagration. The science of medicine is mostly experimental, but at no distant day a physician may only need to learn what is the matter with you to prescribe an instant cure. There may be a specific for every disease, except perhaps old age, which may not be a disease, and a leading scientist has declared that the secret of life is sure to be brought to light and man will eventually live for centuries.

Wireless Telegraphy.—Perhaps the most interesting if not the most wonderful achievement of very recent years is the wireless telegraphy, or the sending of electric messages without the aid of wires. When the latter method was discovered more than half a century ago, it long remained one of the marvels of the age, but at first it seems impossible that such a message can be forwarded through the open air, without any wire for it to travel upon. After such a message, however, was sent from the steamer *Lucania*, other steamship lines adopted this means of communication. The ships could communicate with the shore stations or other ships within a radius of a hundred miles as readily as it had hitherto been done over the familiar wires. On Saturday, June 15, 1901, a number of long messages were sent by wireless telegraph from the Cunarder *Lucania* to stations on shore, as she steamed through the Irish Sea and St. George's Channel, bound from Liverpool to New York, the experiments being continued after the vessel had passed beyond sight from land.

The startling announcement was made by Signor Marconi (the inventor of the system, though that honor is disputed) that he had received telegraphic signals from Cornwall, England, at St. John's, Newfoundland, that is, across the Atlantic. This seemed so incredible that many doubted it, but the fact was established that on February 22, 1902, a receiver accepted and printed tape messages from Cornwall, 1,551 miles distant. There was no telephone instrument used nor any human agency at all. The

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time having been agreed upon beforehand, a transmitter at Cornwall flashed a message through the air, and Marconi and the ship's officers, who were waiting on the *Philadelphia*, heard the tick, and looking down at the tape saw the dots and dashes come into existence. Done under so many scrutinizing eyes, it was impossible to doubt further. The captain and chief officer of the *Philadelphia* signed and certified to this effect, which includes messages received up to 1,551.5 miles and signals received up to 2,099 miles.

Referring to what had been accomplished, Marconi said: "I can sit down and figure out just how much power and what equipment would be required to send messages from Cornwall to the Cape of Good Hope or to Australia. I cannot understand why the scientists do not see this thing as I do. It is perfectly simple, and depends merely on the height of the wire used and the amount of power at the transmitting

PROF. HOLLAND IN HIS SUBMARINE BOAT.

ends. Suppose you wanted to light a circuit of one thousand electric lamps. You would use enough dynamos and produce enough current for that effect. If you did not have that much power, you could not operate one thousand lamps. It is the same with my system. We found several years ago, that, if we doubled the height of our aerial wire, we quadrupled the effect. We used one-fortieth of a horsepower then. Now I use several horsepower, and, by producing a powerful voltage, I naturally get an effect

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in proportion to that power. It is not possible to keep on extending the height of our aerial conductors, so we simply use more power when we wish to do long-distance work.

"These results convince me that the sending and receiving of wireless messages is regulated only by the strength of the instruments. There will be no more question of the ability to send messages clear across the Atlantic. The distance at which wireless messages can be sent is limited only by the power of the machine. I have demonstrated that the curvature of the earth does not affect the etheric waves. It would be possible, I believe, to send a message around the earth by placing two instruments back to back at the same central station, the sending apparatus facing to the east, the receiving apparatus facing to the west. Regarding the claim that other ships or stations could 'cop off' the messages, I wish to state that had another ship been alongside the *Philadelphia* she could not have intercepted my messages and signals. We have a certain number of tunes—250 in all. We use one tune at a time. There being no proof of the tune we are using, our rivals would have to guess at our tune. There would be thus 249 chances to one that they would not get it. It would be too elaborate an explanation and take up too much time for me to tell you at the present stage just what a 'tune' is."

The quoted remarks of Marconi give some hints of the principle upon which wireless telegraphy works, but a good explanation was given by Professor Dolbear of Tufts College, a well-known authority on physical science, in the *Congregationalist*, and it is well worth careful reading and study:

"You know that a current of electricity will keep to the wire or other conductor provided for it; but when the earth is made a part of the circuit, the current spreads in all directions. Wires may be dispensed with in crossing a river by stretching a wire along one bank with the ends dipping into the water. Then if a battery and telegraph key were provided, the current of electricity could be sent at will into the river, where it at once spreads through the whole water between the ends of the wire. A similar wire on the opposite bank, with its ends dipping into the water, and having a galvanometer or a telephone included in that circuit, will have a part of the current go through it, and signals may thus be sent from the first to the second circuit.

"In place of the battery circuit, having both ends in the earth, there is provided what is called an induction coil, or transformer, having two coils of wire concentric with each other and insulated from each other as perfectly as possible. For the inner coil there is provided a galvanic battery and telegraph key, which opens and closes that circuit as in the ordinary telegraph. The outer coil is made of fine wire, and a great number of turns of it.

"When the circuit through the first, or primary, coil is closed or opened, there is induced in the secondary coil a vigorous rush of electrical current, which may show itself as a snapping spark between the ends of its wire. Let now these ends be carried, one to the ground, the other free in the air. Every change in the primary circuit will discharge into the earth, and into the air from the secondary circuit. That discharged into the earth is distributed in every direction in it; that discharged into the air is at once

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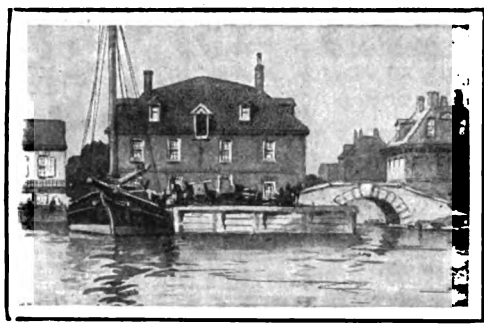
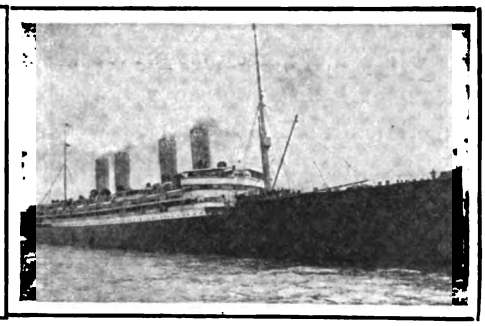
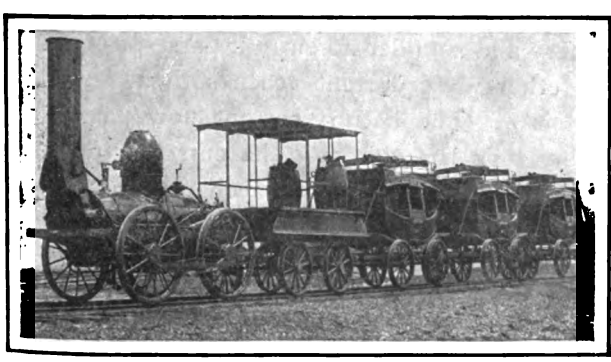


THE SLOOP WHICH CONVEYED THE ENTIRE FIXTURES OF THE CAPITOL FROM PHILADELPHIA TO WASHINGTON IN 1800.

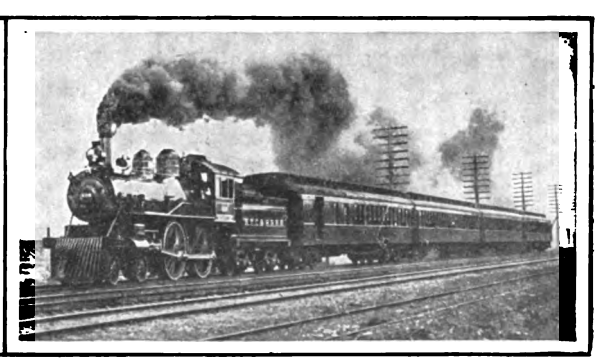


THE "DEUTSCHLAND." THE NEW CENTURY'S OCEAN QUEEN.

THE LOCOMOTIVE "DE WITT CLINTON" AND TRAIN, THE FIRST EVER RUN IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.



THE FIRST TRAIN, IN 1831, ON THE MOHAWK AND HUDSON RAILROAD, NOW A PART OF THE NEW YORK CENTRAL.



THE FAMOUS EMPIRE STATE EXPRESS.

WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENTS IN INVENTIONS.

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transformed into ether waves, very much as the snapping of a whip sets up air waves of sound, and, like them, are distributed through space.

"These spark discharges are known to be vibratory and may be made to take place millions of times a second. These waves in the ether travel in it with the speed of light, 186,000 miles in a second, and most bodies are as transparent to them as glass is to light. Walls of wood or stone offer no more hindrance to their passage than they do to the action of a magnet upon a piece of iron. Here, then, is a method of setting up electrical disturbances in space, distributing the energy in every direction like light from a spark; and the amount of energy depends upon how much electrical energy can be got into the wire that ends in the air.

"With the large coils made nowadays it is possible to discharge a horsepower in this way. Now ether waves suffer but little from friction and the distance to which they will go is well-nigh limitless. Once started in free space they travel on and on. To the moon, to Mars, to Sirius, and to the North Star. The distance to the latter is so great that its light requires forty-seven years to reach us, but these waves we set up are of the same nature as light and travel with the same speed. Here, then, we possess a means for signaling applicable to the whole visible universe, and limited only by the delicacy of the apparatus suitable for receiving the signals.

"What have we for receivers for these ether waves? There is first needed a conductor connecting the earth and its overhead space, so the electrical currents in the earth and the ether waves in space may together react upon it; indeed, a vertical wire with its lower end thrust into the earth is the condition. The surging waves in the ether that pass it produce electric currents down and up it, as many such as there are waves per second from the induction coil. All that is needed now is some device that can be mechanically affected by such vibratory currents.

"At first a static telephone was employed, and this is serviceable easily to distances greater than a mile. For longer distances a substitute has been found in what is called a coherer and its adjuncts of a battery and sounder. The coherer is a small glass tube, two or three inches long, having wires thrust into each end, yet not to quite touch in the middle of the tube. Between the ends of the wire a few filings of nickel are held. When these wires are connected with the battery and sounder no current passes, as the filings act as a non-conductor, but when the ether wave current reaches them they become arranged and cohere to form a conductor. The battery current now passes and works the sounder; a tap upon the tube destroys the cohesion, the current stops, awaiting the arrival of other waves to disturb the filings again. The mechanism of the tube and the tapper is automatic; so one listens to the familiar sound of the Morse sounder when the receiver responds to the signals from the transmitting station.

"This method of signaling has been extended lately to a reach of about 1,700 miles, the distance from Land's End in England to Newfoundland. The transmitting coil used was larger and consequently more energetic than those before used. Only the letter *s* was sent and identified. This letter signal consists of three dots; it was not heard continuously though it was continuously sent, but was heard often enough to make it certain it was the signal from England. If the induction coil be made still

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larger there is no doubt that the method can be employed in the place of cables for telegraphing across the ocean.

"At present no means has been discovered to give direction to the beams of waves so as to send to a single place, and any one with a delicate receiver within the range of the waves may now receive the signals. It is hoped some way will be devised to insure secrecy, yet without this the usefulness of the apparatus is very great and doubtless all vessels, light-houses, and coast lines will be provided with a set to give and receive warning in fog or darkness and there is every reason for the belief that improvements will be made to extend the usefulness of wireless telegraphy."

Mr. C. T. Child in *The Electrical Review* discredited Signor Marconi's assertion of the assured secrecy of wireless communication by "tuning" the receiver to the transmitter. "It seems to me," said Mr. Child, "safe to assume that we are still without a syntonic system. If this be the case, and a sending-station is erected at Cornwall capable of affecting a receiver somewhat more than two thousand miles away, it would affect similar receivers practically all over the continent of Europe, while it would doubtless render wireless telegraphy of any sort in England, the northern half of France, and neighboring regions impossible. The same remarks apply to the stations which may be erected in the maritime provinces of Canada or in eastern Massachusetts. For this reason it would seem that wireless telegraphy, even more than the art of telephony ever was, is a natural monopoly of the first class. By 'natural monopoly' is meant that to make such a thing operative it practically must be under such single control that interference will be eliminated. In order to insure such control it is certain that international action of some sort would be requisite, and since the action of any party to such an arrangement could entirely destroy its usefulness, the value of wireless telegraphy as an adjunct of war, at least for long-distance operations, apparently disappears."

Aerial Navigation.—I have remarked upon the striking fact that the science of aerial navigation has made no satisfactory progress since the two French brothers Montgolfier sent up the first balloon on the 5th of June, 1783, but the science of navigating the air will always have a resistless attraction to mankind, and there can be no doubt of the solving of the problem at no distant day. How often you have lain on the grass in summer time, and looking up into the heavens, envied the birds who skimmed through the clear blue with arrowy swiftness, hundreds of feet above the earth! What would you not give for the same power of darting whither you wished, up in the sky and with a speed ten times greater than your fastest running? Have patience; the time is coming, and some of those who are reading these lines may help to bring about that thrilling triumph.

On October 17 and 21, 1900, Count von Zeppelin made ascensions from Lake Constance in Switzerland, which it was claimed were successful in proving the dirigibility of the balloon as well as its remarkable carrying capacity, but it had no more power to make headway against a wind than a swimmer has to force his way up a rushing torrent. On the last-named day, the balloon, which had an attached motor, remained aloft for twenty-five minutes at an altitude of five-eighths of a mile, and with the wind blow-

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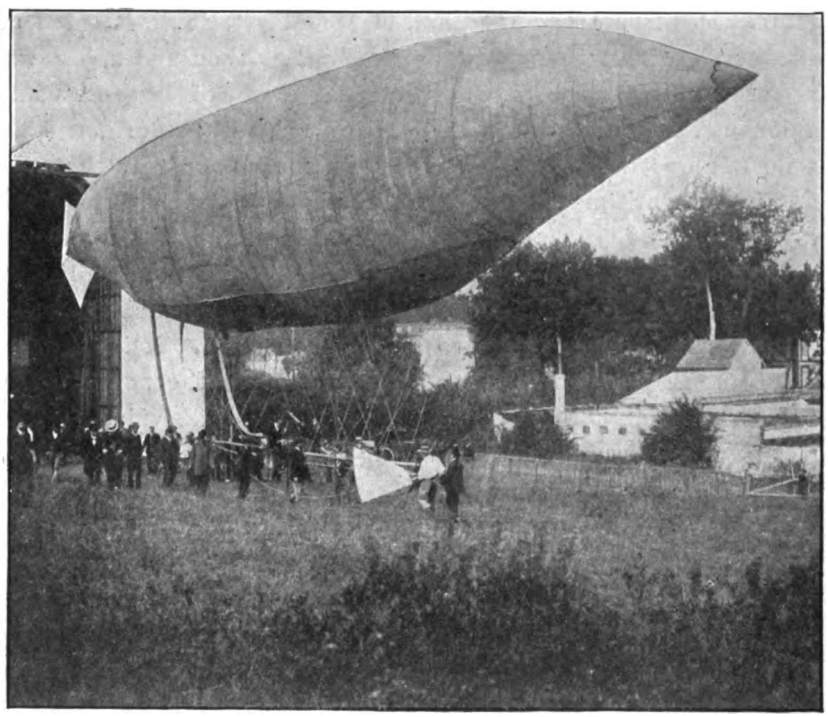
ing eight miles an hour performed a series of evolutions that astonished the spectators.

Edison and Prof. Alexander Bell have declared their belief that the problem of aerial navigation will never be solved by balloons. It is self-evident that any body lighter than the air must be at the mercy of the winds, and it cannot carry motive machinery of great power. It is therefore little more than a plaything. "I believe the problem of aerial navigation will be solved," says Prof. Bell, "but not by the use of balloons."

It was on October 19, 1901, that the Brazilian M. Santos-Dumont completed the circuit from St. Cloud around the Eiffel Tower and back in 29 minutes and a quarter. M. Deutsch had offered some time before a prize of $20,000 to any one who would per-



FLYING MACHINE—SANTOS-DUMONT.

form this feat within half an hour. Santos-Dumont was unable to land his balloon at once, and used forty seconds more than the stipulated time. As might be supposed, a discussion instantly followed as to whether he was entitled to the prize. On November 5, the committee by a vote of 12 to 9 declared that Santos-Dumont had fairly won the reward. M. Deutsch held that opinion from the first and had presented the aeronaut with $5,000 to distribute among the poor of Paris, whether he received the prize or not.

The all-important fact connected with this exploit was that M. Santos-Dumont did more in the way of navigating the air than had ever been done before, for he proved his power to proceed with a fair rate of speed in the face of a wind blowing with con-

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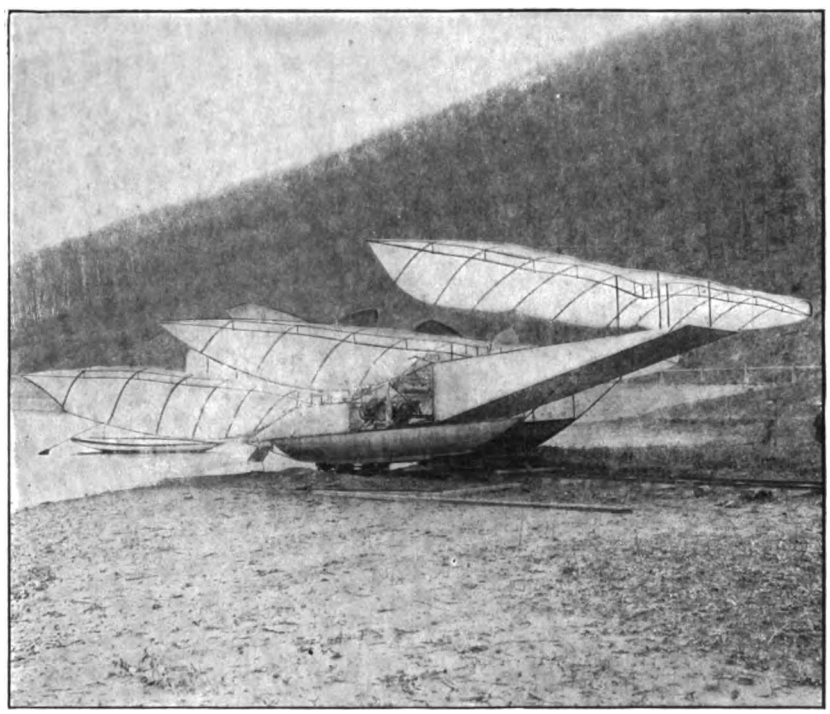
siderable velocity. This was a step forward, but, after all, only a step, and a good many more remain to be taken before it can be said that the problem has been solved.

While much credit belongs to the ingenious Brazilian who made the circuit of the Eiffel Tower, it is a fact that seventeen years before, two officers of the French army, Krebs and Renard, ascended from the government workshop at Meudon with a military balloon, traveled four and three-fourths miles over a course that had been selected, and came back to the starting point without the slightest mishap, so that the achievement of M. Santos-Dumont was not so remarkable as many have supposed.

There are inventors all over the country industriously struggling with this problem of aerial navigation. You hear of them continually. Sometimes a supposed genius



TYPE OF AIR SHIP AEROPLANE, KRESS—AUSTRALIAN.

after toiling for years at it is confident everything is in perfect readiness, and soars aloft, only to drop down to earth with his neck and most of his bones broken, or, if he is fortunate enough to escape with his life, the machine goes to smash, the work of years disappearing in the twinkling of an eye. The aeronaut explains that some unexpected slip caused a derangement of the delicate machinery, but he will soon correct that and demonstrate to a doubting world that he is able to do what as yet has never been done. Capitalists put money into some of these wild schemes, only to regret their lack of judgment afterwards.

Of course Edison has given a good deal of thought to this subject, though he has not as yet seriously attacked the puzzle. One of his remarks deserves to be noted. It refers to the universal feeling among aeronauts that when they leave the earth with

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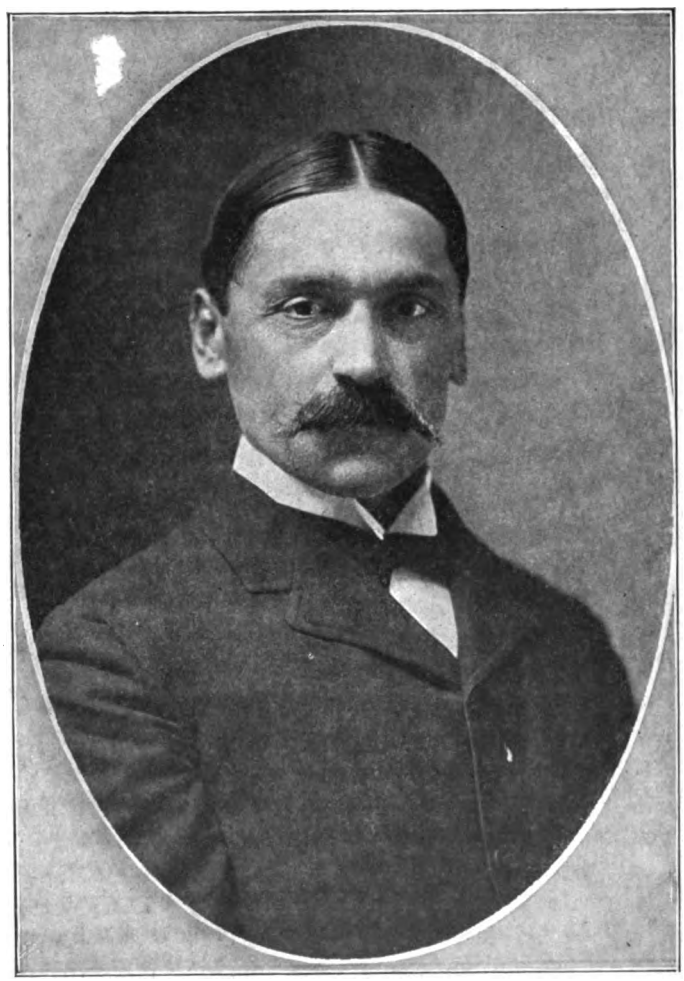
their machines or balloons, they must ascend to a great height, whereas it is plain that all they have to do is to go high enough to clear the tallest buildings or any elevation likely to be in their course. Their interests being connected with the earth, they should keep in as close touch as possible with it.

When Count Zeppelin divided his balloon into seventeen compartments and constructed the framework of aluminum he was as confident as all the others of success, but the rigidity of the framework brought failure. On February 14, 1902, M. Santos-



PROF. M. I. PUPIN.

Dumont narrowly escaped death and wrecked his balloon in a trip over the Bay of Monaco, which brings us back to our first declaration that the problem of aerial navigation still awaits solution.

Long Distance Telephony.—It is said that the largest sum ever paid for an invention was that given by the Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company to Professor M. I. Pupin of Columbia University, New York City, for the patent rights in his device which

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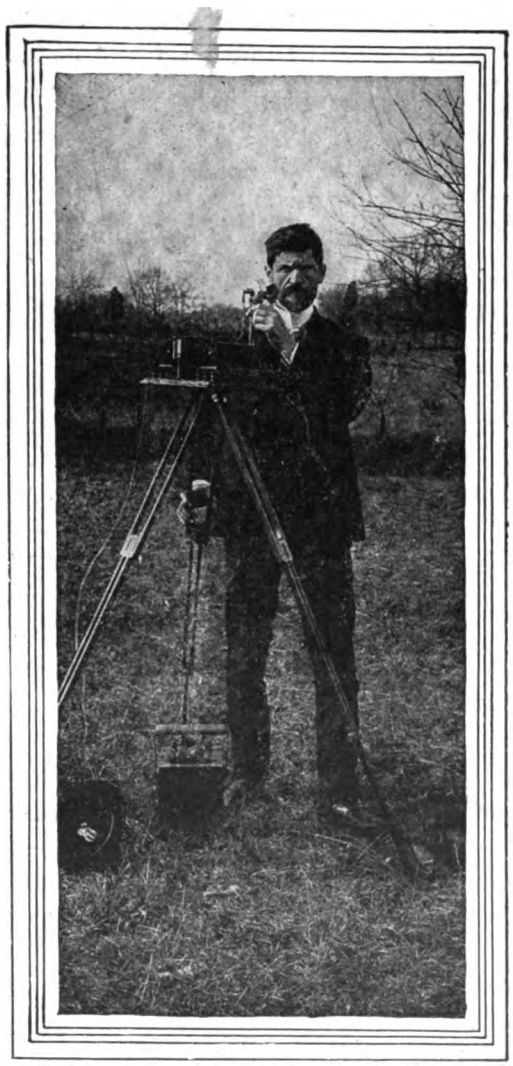
enormously increases the rapidity and distance over which telephone messages can be sent. The price paid is claimed to have been nearly half a million dollars cash with an annual royalty of $15,000 for seventeen years, or during the life of the patent.

Hitherto it has been impossible to overcome the defects of indistinct and defective articulation in sending and receiving messages over long distances. This was due to the weakening of the electrical waves, as they pass outward from their source. Many experiments have been made to overcome this difficulty, by placing induction coils at points along the circuit, but no satisfactory results were obtained. Professor Pupin, being familiar with the laws of electrical waves and wave-lengths, brought his mathematical skill into play, and evolved the formula which determines the intervals at which the induction coils must be placed. To show how difficult this problem was even to such an adept, it may be stated that it took five years of experiment, research and labor before he attained success.

An interesting invention connected with the telephone is a registering apparatus for the automatic receipt and reproduction of telephone messages. It is the work of two Danes, V. Poulsen and P. O. Pedersen. A description would necessarily be too technical to interest the reader.

Light without Wires.—Nikola Tesla must rank among the foremost inventors and scientists of the day. He has made many remarkable discoveries, and is still busily at work in his chosen field of original research. One of his latest achievements is his method of producing brilliant light without the aid of wires. He thus describes his invention:



PROFESSOR A. FREDERICK COLLINS SENDING A WIRELESS TELEPHONE MESSAGE.

"The lamps consist of glass tubes bent in spiral forms or other ornamental ways and containing rarefied gases. The ends of the tube are covered with a metallic cap, and provided with hooks for hanging the lamp on the terminals of the source of oscillations.

"The street current is passed through a machine which is an electrified oscillator of peculiar construction and transforms the supply current, be it direct or alternating, into electrical oscillations of very high frequency. These oscillations, coming to the

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metallically-coated ends of the glass tube, produce in the interior corresponding electrical oscillations, which set the molecules and atoms of the inclosed rarefied gases into violent commotion, causing them to vibrate at enormous rates and emit those radiations which we know as light. The gases are not rendered incandescent in the ordinary sense, for if it were so, they would be hot, like an incandescent filament. As a matter of fact, there is very little heat noticeable, which speaks well for the economy of the light, since all heat would be loss.

"This high economy results chiefly from three causes: First, from the high rate of the electrical oscillations; second, from the fact that the entire light-giving body, being a highly attenuated gas, is exposed and can throw out its radiations unimpeded; and, third, because of the smallness of the particles composing the light-giving body, in consequence of which they can be quickly thrown into a high rate of vibration, so that comparatively little energy is lost in the lower or heat vibrations. An important practical advantage is that the lamps need not be renewed like the ordinary ones, as there is nothing in them to consume.

"It is a remarkable feature of the light that during the day it can hardly be seen, whereas at night the whole room is brilliantly illuminated. . . ."

Picture Telegraphy.—Think of sending pictures by telegraph. Efforts have been made for a number of years past to discover such a method, the most promising of which is to be credited to H. R. Palmer and Thomas Mills of Cleveland, Ohio. It is simpler and more compact than the electro-artograph invented by N. S. Amstutz, and possesses the remarkable advantage of working directly from a photograph without requiring redrawing. The device, it is claimed, can be operated over a circuit of a thousand miles and can be instantly changed to either a transmitter or receiver.

Stellar Heat.—The sun, as you know, is the great source of heat, but did you ever ask yourself, when looking at the myriads of stars overhead, whether they gave any heat to the earth? Learned men have been divided for a long time over this question, but it has been answered by Professor E. F. Nichols of Dartmouth College, through numerous experiments at the Yerkes Observatory, with his newly-devised "radiometer," which has proved beyond a doubt that the earth receives from the planets and some of the fixed stars an appreciable quantity of heat, though of course it is very slight.

Yellow Fever and Other Scourges.—Naturally mankind is most deeply interested in those matters which concern health and life and death, and the ablest investigators are steadily pushing their researches into that mysterious but inviting field.

The world has suffered from the most fearful scourges ever since the creation of man. Whole countries in ancient times were swept by appalling plagues that carried hundreds of thousands to their graves. Only in comparatively recent years did it become known that "cleanliness is next to godliness," and that those awful visitations were due to the violation of this truth and the disregard of the simplest laws of health. Yellow fever used to descend like a blight upon our southern cities, and the inhabitants were left the choice of remaining in their homes and dying, or fleeing to the cool highlands, where the plague did not follow them. When General Butler captured New Orleans, during the War for the Union, he thoroughly cleaned the city and the yellow

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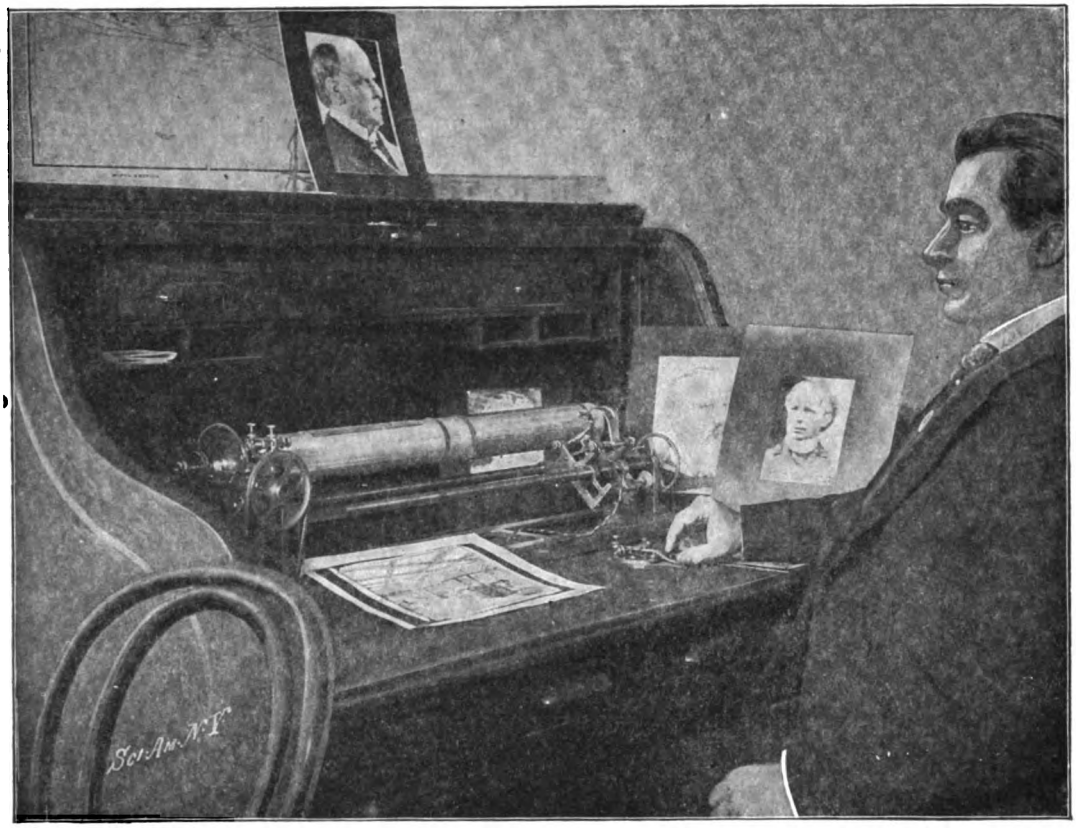

FROM THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

THE ELECTROGRAPH MACHINE. OPERATOR SENDING A PICTORIAL MESSAGE.

FROM THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

PORTRAIT OF MCKINLEY MADE BY THE ELECTROGRAPH.

CYLINDER BEARING PORTRAIT OF MCKINLEY.

WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENTS IN INVENTION. PICTORIAL TELEGRAPHY.

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fever did not come nigh it. Since then, although there have been occasional outbreaks, yet the attention to sewerage, pure water and general cleanliness have reduced the mortality to nominal figures.

People were helpless before the horrible plague of smallpox until in the eighteenth century a cure was found through the simple method of vaccination. Another of the most frightful of curses was hydrophobia. When a man was unfortunate enough to be bitten by a rabid dog, it was left to him only to prepare for one of the most agonizing of deaths. But in 1888, that eminent chemist and biologist, Louis Pasteur, established his institute in Paris for the cure of rabies, and two years later a hospital for the treatment of the disease was opened in the city of New York. Professor Pasteur discovered the cause of hydrophobia to be a microbe in the nerve-centers, and that to prevent and cure the disease it was necessary to employ an attenuated or "cultured" form of the same microbe. This is done with such success that it may be said a specific has been found for hydrophobia.

Another affliction that annually fills unnumbered graves is consumption. At the third annual session of the American Congress of Tuberculosis and the Medico-Legal Society, in New York City in June, 1902, Dr. Henry D. Holton, secretary of the Vermont Board of Health, stated that there were more than half a million tuberculosis patients in the country, and of that number, 400,000 at least were doomed to die of the disease. He added that the consensus of opinion was that the tuberculosis bacillus is not transmitted from parent to child, but that a predisposition to the disease may be hereditary. Intemperance, insufficient clothing, dampness, filth, overcrowding and improper food are the chief direct causes. As to preventives, which Dr. Holton said were the only hope in combating the disease, he ranked as the most important the education of the masses in better methods of living.

A discusssion took place as to preventive legislation, embracing the social, municipal and State aspects of tuberculosis, during which a resolution was adopted declaring it to be the "duty of every government, municipality and individual citizen to adopt organized methods for lessening the spread of a disease which is causing, directly or indirectly, probably one-fifth of the total deaths in almost every country in the world."

There are continual reports of cures for consumption. Probably the best method yet devised is that of the removal of the sufferer to the dry regions of the Southwest, where he is secure against the dampness and violent changes of climate in other sections of the Union. Innumerable lives have been saved by this means, but it is unsafe for the patient, after being cured, to return to his former home. The predisposition to the disease remains, and his life can be prolonged only by care and the avoidance of those conditions which originally developed it.

Among the many "cures" that have been brought to notice is the electrical one of Nikola Tesla. This consists in the local application of electricity by means of a newly-invented oscillator to the part of the body mainly affected and also to the heart. He describes his oscillator as based on a principle involving the use of vibrations of an electric condenser which stores electrical energy "of an explosive nature, like the power locked up in dynamite, only many times more powerful." He says that when this

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energy is suddenly released, as in his machine, "it produces quickly varying oscillations, which are able to penetrate through bodies. Though this energy may be enormous in amount, it is not harmful in nature. By means of this machine, I may pass at least 500,000 volts of electricity through a man without injury. Indeed, it may be utilized with beneficial effect. I am of opinion that electricity in this form may be used as a means of stamping out internal disease."

Reference must not be omitted to certain other alleged cures of consumption. One is that of Dr. Armand Gautier, a member of the Institute of France, and professor of chemistry in the Faculty of Medicine of Paris. The eminence of the discoverer drew general interest to his claim, of which arsenic forms the basis of treatment. The drug is administered hypodermically, and a form is used which has never before been tried, namely in a compound known as cacodylic acid, more than half of which is metallic arsenic. In the form named doses of arsenic that otherwise would be fatal can be administered without danger. It is not worth while to describe his method of treatment, since that belongs to the province of the physician.

Cure for Cancer.—One of the most hideous and malignant afflictions of humanity is cancer. The ancients gave it its name because the discolored veins leading from the center bore a resemblance to the *cancer* or crab. It seldom attacks a person under the age of twenty-five, the most vulnerable period being between fifty and sixty, and a peculiarity of the disease is that the younger the patient, the more rapid the cancer progresses to a fatal termination. Thus in youth it sometimes runs its course in a few months or possibly weeks, while old persons linger for years, suffering, as was the case with General Grant, most distressing agony for a long time. Perhaps you are not aware that cancer often afflicts the lower animals, cats and dogs being the most subject to its attack.

For generations it has been accepted that there is no cure for cancer. The most ordinary recourse is to cut it out, but the poison seems to remain in the blood, and in a brief time develops elsewhere,—so that all that a surgical operation effects is to postpone the inevitable end, and it sometimes happens that the reappearance of the disease is in a place that makes it more distressing than at first. I recall spending an afternoon with Admiral Stewart, one of the heroes of the War of 1812. He was then ninety years old, and astonishingly hale and vigorous. Some months after when I saw him again, a scirrhous cancer had appeared on his tongue. The surgeon asked permission to remove it, but that wonderful old sea dog, who knew a great deal about medicine, replied: "It will be sure to come back and most likely in a worse place. Anyhow I have lived long enough; let it alone," he grimly added, and shortly afterward died.

It is safe to declare that a certain cure for cancer will soon be discovered, for the ablest of scientists are pushing their investigations in that direction. Many palliatives are known, and there have been reported cures from the use of certain medicinal plants which have been so astonishing as to lead many to ask whether the longed-for remedy has not been found, but it is too soon to answer the question in the affirmative.

Now nothing is clearer than that the cause of cancer must be learned, before the remedy can be obtained. Great interest, therefore, was aroused, when Dr. Harvey R.

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Gaylord, director of the State Pathological Laboratory at Buffalo, N. Y., announced that he had ascertained that the specific cause of cancer is not a bacterium, or vegetable organism, but a protozoön, or animal parasite, identical with bodies long observed but heretofore supposed to be the product of degeneration of tissues.

It was claimed by Dr. Gaylord that he had isolated and cultivated the parasite and had produced the disease in animals by inoculation. In a cancer patient all the organs, including the blood taken from any part of the body, abound with these organisms. This being the case, it is impossible that the surgeon's knife can ever afford permanent relief. It is said that the cancer germ belongs to the same group with the vaccine

ROBERT FULTON.

organism. Efforts followed to determine the time of appearance of the cancer organism, and to utilize the knowledge as a means of diagnosis. The blessed belief is warranted that our scientists are on the right track, and that this frightful disease will soon vanish as one of the most distressing scourges of humanity.

The Yellow Fever Serum.—We have referred to the ravages of the yellow fever, one of the most infectious and dangerous of all diseases. Investigation in that field has been persevering and insistent, and has resulted in bringing some astonishing conditions to light. In the summer of 1901, experiments were conducted at Havana under the supervision of a medical board, at the head of which was Major Howard, chief surgeon

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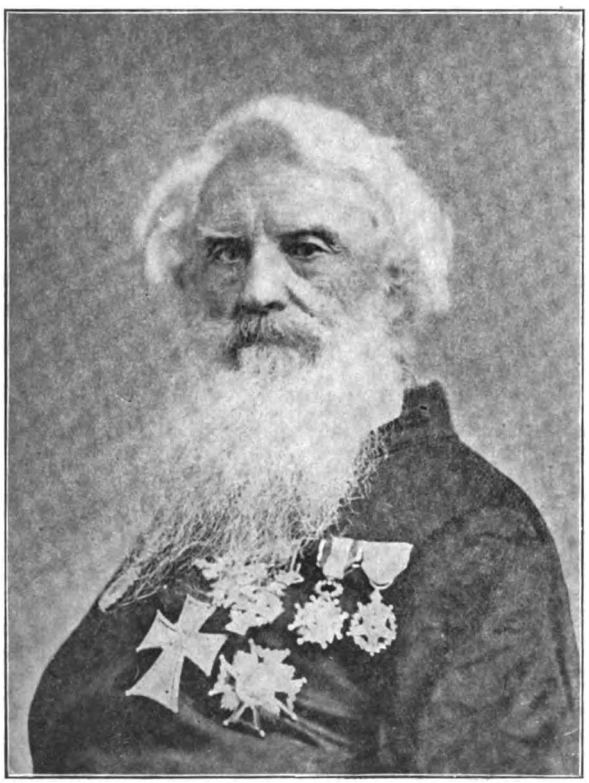
for Cuba. The important fact was established that the claim that yellow fever is communicated by mosquitoes is true. It cost three lives to learn this truth, two of whom were Spanish men who volunteered to undergo the experiment and the third an American nurse. They allowed themselves to be bitten directly by mosquitoes who were known to be infected with the disease. All three took the disease, and despite every attention and the exercise of the best medical skill, they died. Few believed, until it was proved beyond all possibility of doubt, that mosquitoes carried the infection.

Extermination of Mosquitoes.—We have all suffered from mosquitoes, but in some parts of the world the pests are tenfold more tormenting than here. Some years ago, a party of United States surveyors at work in a swamp in Southern California were



PROF. S. F. B. MORSE.

driven out pell-mell by the vicious attacks of a swarm, and had to abandon their work, the first instance of the kind in this country. The insect is worse in the Arctic regions than in the temperate, though his season of activity is much shorter, because of the brevity of the summer. There are days in Alaska and the far North when a man cannot live unless he incases his face in an impenetrable screen or fills his tent so thickly with smoke that he can hardly breathe. Think of mosquitoes killing bears! They do it by the score. They attack the animal's eyes until he is literally blinded, when he wanders around until he dies of starvation.

Of course there is no dissemination of yellow fever in the northern States through

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mosquitoes, because the disease is not allowed to penetrate the cities, but there can be little doubt that malaria is disseminated by the insects of the genus "Anopheles," and there has been a general campaign waged against them. Several States have appropriated considerable sums of money for ridding themselves of the pest, and in many instances the success has been decisive. The means recommended is the drainage of pools, emptying of barrels, pails, and tubs containing stagnant water, straightening the banks of sluggish streams so as to remove eddies, and lastly a general sprinkling of petroleum. The last is fatal to the hatching mosquito, who when he wriggles upward from the bottom of some pool or stagnant bit of water, and enters the film of petroleum floating on top, straightway succumbs.

Systematic efforts toward the extermination of malaria-breeding mosquitoes were made in the summer of 1901, notably by Dr. Alvah H. Doty, Health Officer of the Port of New York, who early in August began experiments on Staten Island with kerosene oil. He did the work systematically and as thoroughly as was possible, and at the end of a week the inhabitants of the neighborhood were made happy by marked improvement in their conditions. They could sit on the porches of their houses in the afternoon or evening without giving their chief energies to slapping the pests buzzing about their ears and nipping them whenever the chance offered.

Camp Jackson at New Orleans has long borne the reputation of being almost intolerable because of the mosquito pest, but during the same summer crude petroleum was plentifully distributed around the camp, with such marked benefit that officers and soldiers were delighted. The same improvement was noted at South Orange, New Jersey. In the summer of 1902, the experiments were repeated in different States, and in every instance with gratifying success. It is safe to say that where a community unites with those who distribute the petroleum, and does its full part in assisting, the result is certain to be of the most beneficial nature.

The Invisible Spectrum.—The National Academy of Science held its annual meeting in Washington, April 16–18, 1901. A paper of great interest was read by the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Professor S. P. Langley, on "The New Spectrum," in which were embodied the results of twenty years of study. On a large chart he showed the mysterious infra-red portion of the spectrum, stretching out far beyond the utmost regions previously explored, which he had mapped out.

The instrument invented by Professor Langley is so delicate that it will indicate the one-thousand-millionth of a degree centigrade. Adopting the scale which allows one foot for the visible or "Newtonian" spectrum, the new spectrum explored by Professor Langley would extend to a length of about twenty feet, in which region were drawn more than seven hundred lines, indicating heat variations. The study of the unexplored part of the solar spectrum promises to lead in future years to great advantages to agriculture, through the discovery of certain relations between the seasons, the crops, and their great source, the sun.

Sprinkling Roads with Oil.—It would be hard to name all the uses to which oil can be put. It has happened more than once that when a ship was in danger of foundering in a terrible tempest, the emptying of several barrels of oil has so smoothed the

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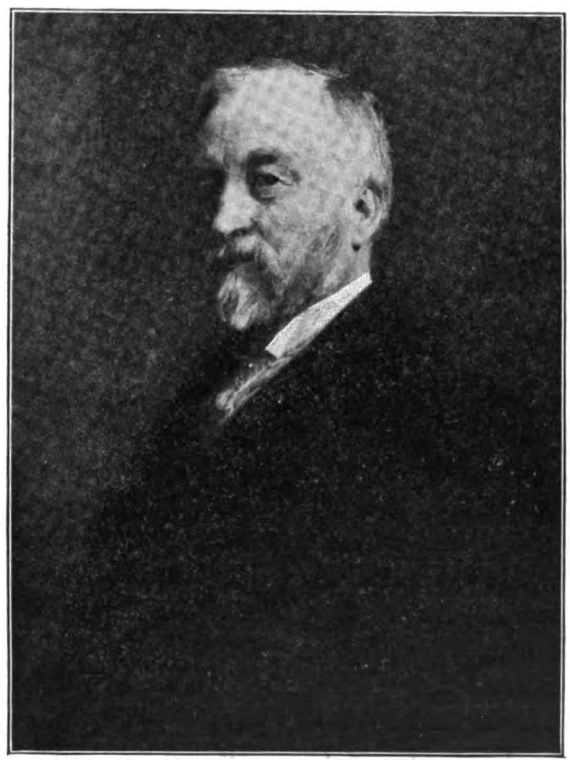
furious waters that comparative calm resulted and the peril was averted. The State of California has lately made a number of tests of the value of oil on the highways. In that section they are plagued in the autumn by suffocating clouds of dust. A plentiful sprinkling with water checks the nuisance for only a short time, when it is renewed. The experiment was made of using oil on the roads and streets, and the success was so marked that the custom sprang at once into popularity, especially when it was proved that oil was really more economical than water.

When the oil was applied it gave a hard, smooth surface like asphalt to dirt roads, kept down the dust, lessened the strain on the horses, and greatly added to the comfort of travelers. Oil is so available in California that there is no trouble in obtaining all



FROM THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

PROFESSOR LANGLEY.

that is needed. After the first application, those that follow require only about two-thirds as much, and two applications a year are generally sufficient, heated oil being preferable to cold. What would our fathers have thought of the proposal to spread oil over the dusty highways?

That the method is less expensive than the use of water is shown by the figures in the case of the city of Colton. The annual expense for street sprinkling was $1200, but when oil took its place, this expense was reduced to $745. Still more decisive were the results in San Francisco, when the method was applied to the park driveway of four and a half miles. There the saving was $500 a month, and 70,000 gallons of water a day. Oil was estimated at a value of about a dollar a barrel.

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Printing without Ink.—Some of the inventions are less useful than others. While there would seem to be no special objection to the use of ink in printing, yet it is claimed that a method has been found of printing without the use of ink. It is said that certain chemicals which are instantly decomposed by an electrical current, producing an indelible mark, are mingled with the pulp during the process of manufacturing the paper that is used in the printing process. The ordinary press, from which the inking mechanism has been removed, can be utilized in this process.

One wire of an electric circuit is attached to the type or stereotype plate and the other to the cylinder that presses the paper against the type. As the current passes through, every spot in relief on the type touching the paper prints its form indelibly on the paper, the resemblance to ink being almost perfect, with the exception that there is no dampening or smearing.

It is said that the current passing through an ordinary incandescent light is sufficient to do all the printing in a large press. Under a trial the press was run at the rate of one hundred impressions a minute and the work did not show the slightest defect.

The Murray Page-Printing Telegraph.—A young man named Donald Murray was connected with an Australian newspaper, and had no knowledge of telegraphy when he began a series of investigations that have brought a brilliant result. This was a printing telegraph machine, whose ordinary capacity is 120 words a minute, though it has been forced to 130 words. The superiority of this will be recognized when it is remembered that about 25 words a minute is the limit of the best Morse operators, and 15 is considered a fair average. While Mr. Murray does not claim a saving of labor, he does claim a great saving of wire, for the capacity of a single one is trebled.

The distinctive feature of the system is the use of a tape, divided into half-inch spaces, in each of which a character is represented by the perforations of ten small punches. A mechanism on the principle of the typewriter gives any desired combination of perforations by a system of interlocking bars. The total number of characters that may be punched is 84.

The tape runs through a modified Wheatstone transmitter, a punching magnet at the receiving station producing an identical tape. An ordinary typewriter is provided with an attachment of which the operation is similar to that of an automatic piano attachment. The tape being run through this gives a page written in Roman characters. Three perforating machines are necessary to produce the tape fast enough to equal the sending capacity of the system.

Institutions for Special Instruction in the United States.—In 1904 there were 66 Agricultural and Mechanical colleges, 50 for white students, and 16 for colored. These institutions are endowed by the government and in that year they received from the States and Territories in which they are situated the sum of $5,654,758, and from the income derived from the land received under the land grant of 1862, $730,004, and from later land and money grants $1,315,959. The total number of students in the collegiate departments of the institutions for white students was 20,894 (18,743 men and 2,151 women).

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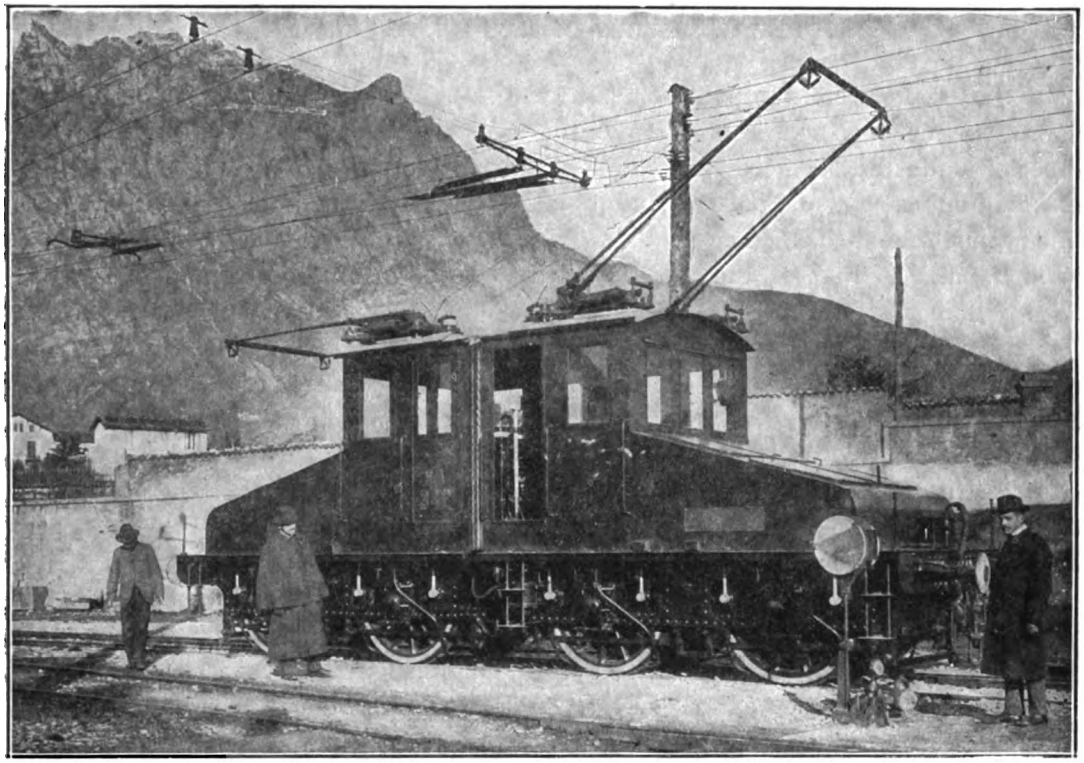
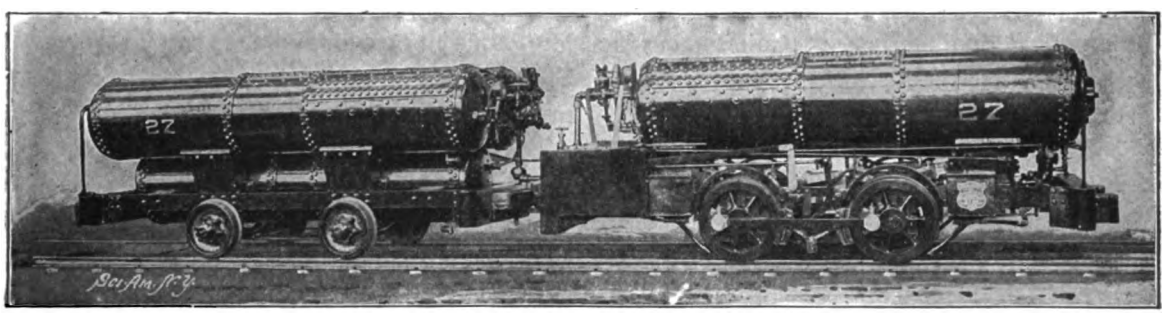


FROM THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

A MODERN FREIGHT ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVE.



FROM THE SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

A PNEUMATIC LOCOMOTIVE.

THE ORIGINAL "JOHN BULL LOCOMOTIVE," NOW IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AT WASHINGTON, BUILT IN 1831 FOR THE CAMDEN AND AMBOY RAILROAD, NOW A PART OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.

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In 1904 there were 269 public and private training schools with teachers, 63,627 students. Since 1890 the total number of students has nearly doubled, while the number of graduates has more than doubled. Besides these, there were 23,612 normal students in universities and colleges and high schools in 1904. State appropriations for public normal schools in 1890 amounted to $1,312,419 for current expenses and $900,533 for new buildings. In 1904 the amount for current expenses had reached $3,927,808, and for buildings $915,443.

One hundred and ninety-five manual and industrial training schools were reported in 1904; the current expenses of which were $1,480,685. Thirty-seven cities reported manual training in 1890 and 331 cities in 1904. There are in secondary schools six pupils in each hundred studying manual training. Besides manual training, technically so-called, without instruction for trade, a large majority of the schools report special trades as included in their course of study. Out of 156 schools that report the number of students in each branch, 137 report trades.

Besides the above, commerce was taught in 1904 in 166 universities and colleges, 52 public and private normal schools, 693 academies, 3,192 public high schools, and 499 business schools, a total of 250,231 students being engaged in preparing themselves for commercial employment. There were 39 schools for the blind, 137 schools for the deaf, 25 state schools for the feeble-minded, and 95 reform schools.

The number of institutions offering the various courses in engineering is as follows: Civil engineering, 38; chemical engineering, 9; electrical engineering, 37; mechanical engineering, 45; mining engineering, 21; sanitary engineering, 7; railway engineering, 4; irrigation engineering, 3; metallurgical engineering, 4; textile engineering, 4.

The Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C., gathers information pertaining to every phase of educational work in the United States, and the reports issued from time to time can generally be obtained without cost by direct application to the Bureau.

Among the many interesting truths that have been demonstrated at the Columbia School of Mines in New York are the following:

An atom of hydrogen weighs one twenty-millionth of a grain.

A grain of table salt has been analyzed to the one two-hundred-millionth of a grain.

In one grain by actual weight are 41,000,000,000 of tuberculosis bacilli. If 1500 of these were placed end to end they would barely reach across the head of an ordinary pin.

Eighteen hundred sheets of gold were hammered so fine that if they were piled upon one another, the thickness of the pile would be less than the sheet of paper on which these words are printed.

Platinum wire has been spun to three one-hundred-thousandths of an inch in diameter. Where is the work of a spider?

Heat has been measured to one three-hundred-millionth of a degree.

The opening of the new century shows in all our great cities a hitherto unapproached rate of increase in population which has brought with it grave problems. This congestion, with its accompanying demand for increased home and business accom-

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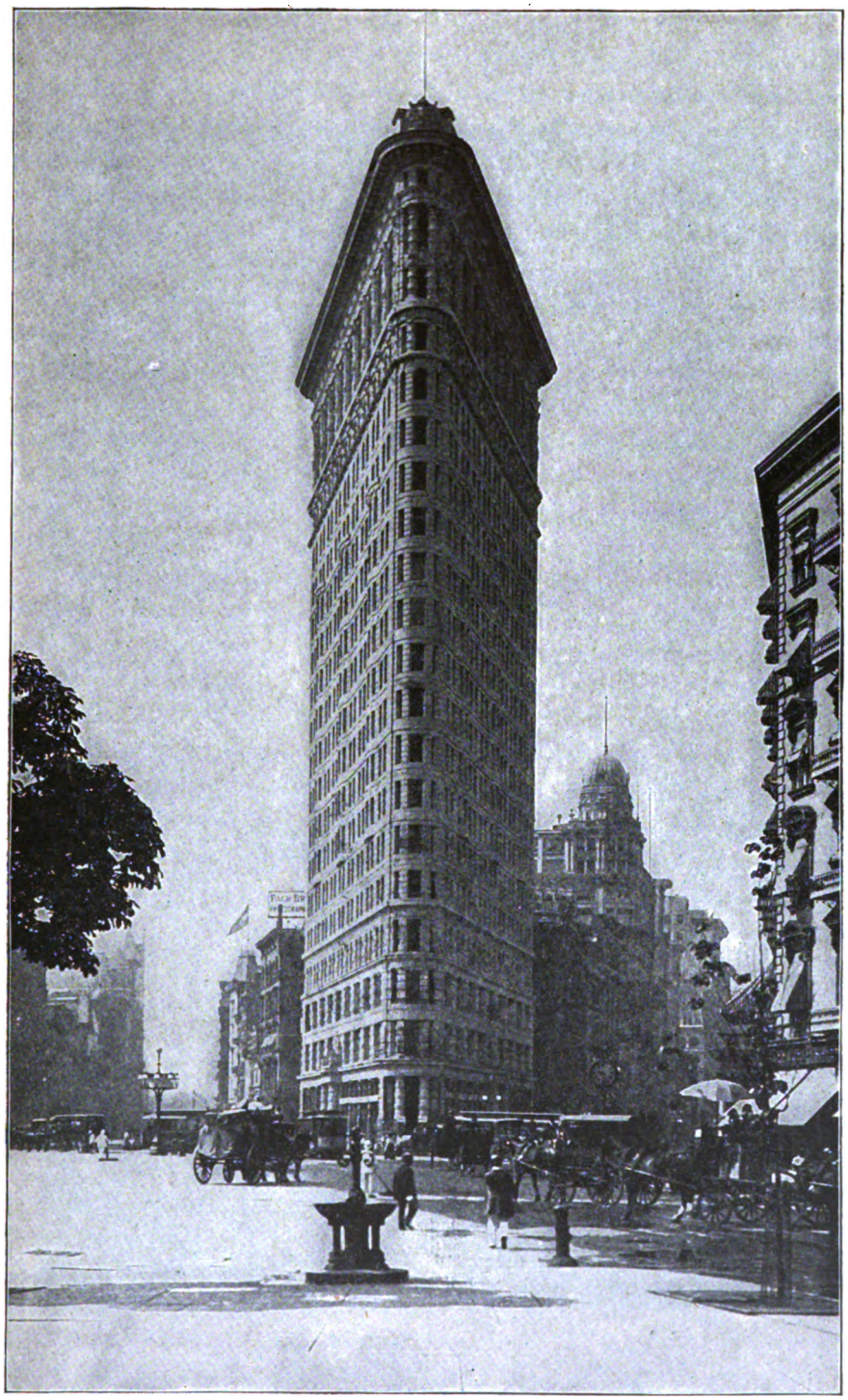

THE FULLER (" FLAT IRON ") BUILDING, NEW YORK.

TYPE OF SKYSCRAPER.

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modations, has radically changed the character of urban life. It has produced the towering skyscraper, which houses scores of business firms instead of a single one, and the apartment house, which has so largely replaced the individual home. The resulting increase in the value of city property has driven thousands of former city dwellers to outlying districts to find homes of moderate cost and has thus produced the comparatively new class of "commuters," who perhaps live in one state and labor in another. With this change has come another problem, perhaps the most important municipal question of the day—that of transportation. In rapid succession the stage coach has given place to the horse-car, that to the cable road, and that in turn to the electric and the elevated road. But at each change the growth of population has outstripped the growth of transportation facilities, and having utilized to the utmost the surface of the streets and the air above, the inhabitant of the city has now been forced to find a passage beneath the ground and even below the water. The New York subway, a triumph of modern engineering, has accomplished wonders for the city, and when the numerous tunnels beneath the rivers which encircle New York are in operation, the problem of surburban transportation will have been solved, at least for a time.

These great engineering operations have been made possible in large part by a new form of construction, or rather the revival of a very old one, that of solid concrete. By its use the largest works are built practically in one single piece, thus insuring a far greater solidity than any stone or wooden construction, compounded of innumerable pieces, can offer. The value of this new material cannot be overestimated, in view of the diminishing supply and increasing cost of timber due to our national recklessness in destroying our native forests. The government, however, has at last waked up to its criminal negligence of this most important source of wealth, and is now working to counteract the destructive forces in two directions, by more stringent forestry regulations, and by far-reaching experiments in reforesting denuded portions of the country.

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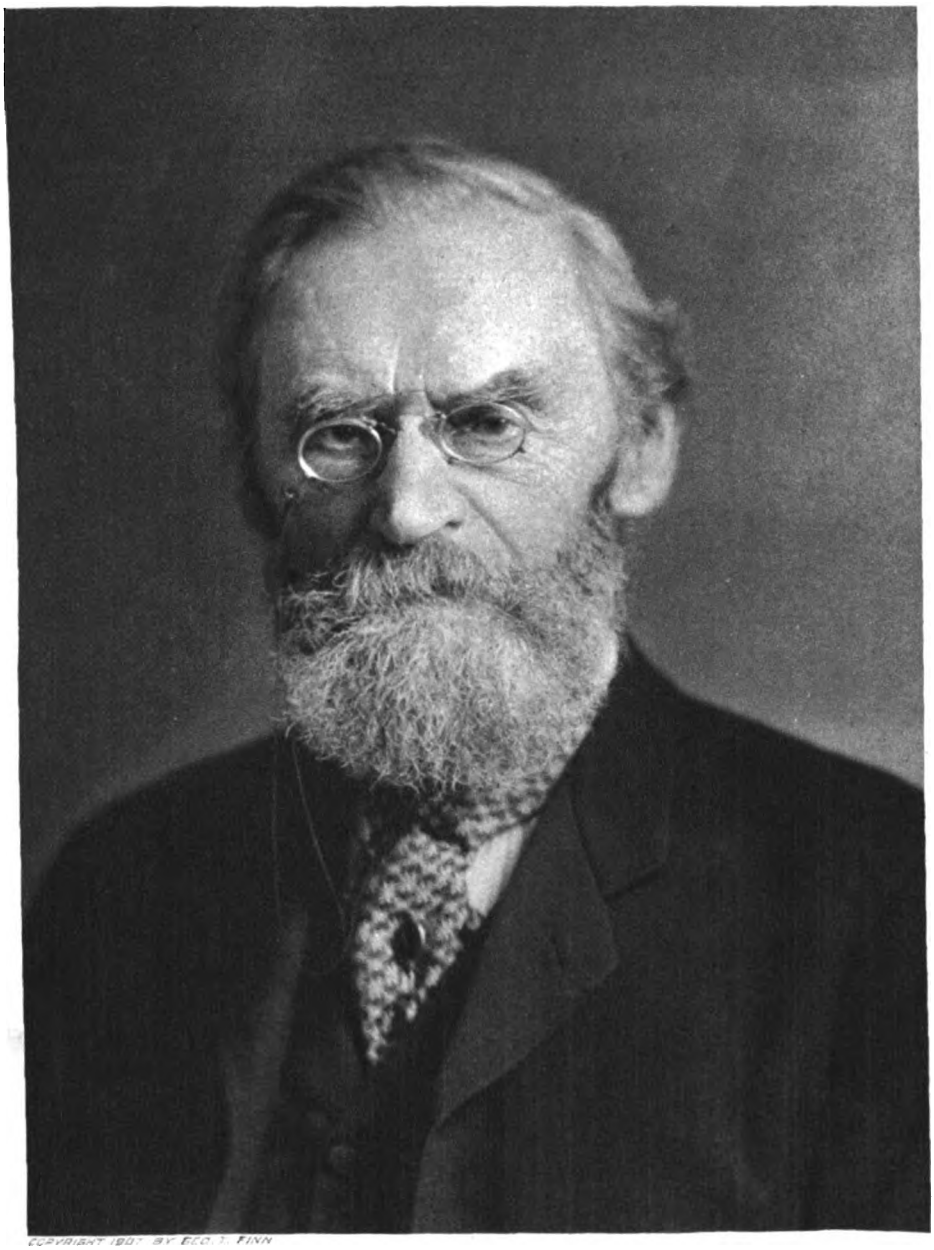

HON CARL SCHURZ

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CHAPTER XX.

ROOSEVELT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1905.

THE second administration of President Roosevelt was ushered in by an inauguration which eclipsed all previous similar ceremonies in the brilliancy of its formalities. The Cabinet remained unchanged with the exception that Mr. Cortelyou, who had left it to conduct the Republican national campaign, returned as Postmaster-General. On July 1 its ranks were broken by the death of Secretary of State John Hay, at the age of 67, who had become famous as the greatest statesman of his country, and had gained not only the trust but the affection of all classes.

On May 31 the Secretary of the Navy, Paul Morton, retired, and the President chose as his successor Charles J. Bonaparte of Maryland. Mr. Bonaparte was born in Baltimore, Md., in 1851. He graduated at Harvard, and then took up the profession of law. He has taken a prominent part in public affairs and is very highly esteemed.

An event of national interest was the discovery in 1905 of the burial place of our great Revolutionary naval hero Paul Jones, the recovery and identification of his body, and its final return to this country. The credit for this important work belongs to General Horace Porter, who had worked for six years, in Paris, largely at his own expense, to locate and identify the body.

Of the discovery of the body General Porter says:

"The various developments in the identification of Paul Jones's body formed a succession of extremely gratifying surprises. I was positive from the location that the body must be Paul Jones's, but I was not prepared for the remarkable accuracy with which our discoveries comported with the historical records of his sickness and death.

"Most wonderful of all was the autopsy performed by Surgeon-General Dr. Capitan with the assistance of other anthropologists. It disclosed a fibrous tissue where the left lung had been affected, confirming our knowledge that Jones suffered from bronchial pneumonia. The viscera were in perfect preservation and there were shown all the symptoms of dropsy, a disease that we know he had, and most strikingly of all, the symptoms of nephritis, the disease from which he died. That these symptoms should be so marked, or indeed marked at all, in a body from which life had passed 113 years before, was nothing short of amazing.

"I was also amazed on opening the casket and removing the linen winding sheet, which, by the way, was in excellent preservation, to observe how closely the countenance comported with the bust by Houdin which the anthropologists had to guide them. The face was a bit shrunken over the cheekbones, but in no spot did the measurements of the body differ from those of the mask by over two millimeters. The resemblance was perfect, even to the disfigured lobe of the left ear. The teeth were

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as we know them to have been in the Admiral's latter days, and the hair was brown tinged with gray.

"A remembrance of Paul Jones's career as a dandy was given in the fancy shirt with its ruffles and pleats. It bore the mark 'J.' There was tinfoil around his hands and face, and around the body hay, evidently placed there to prevent the body from being disturbed in its casket on the voyage to this country which the embalmers probably expected it would take.

"There were five caskets, all of them of lead, in the place we found the body. Four of them had name plates. This one had none. It was a mummy-shaped casket, round over the place for the head, and displayed fine ornamental lead work."

The ceremonies at Paris on July 6, when the remains were transferred from the custody of the French government to that of the United States, were most impressive. General Porter says:

"The parade was the most impressive seen in Paris for years. I shall never forget the impression made upon me, as the French infantry and cavalry saluted the dead, and I think I was never so proud as at the spectacle of the 500 American marines and blue-jackets, with their easy manner and confident swing, as they marched along with a precision that seemed to them perfectly natural."

The body of the great admiral was received on board the fleet sent by the United States government under Admiral Sigsbee, and was conveyed to Annapolis, where in October it found fitting burial on the grounds of the Naval Academy.

It speaks well for the energy of the American people that within seven months from the close of the great St. Louis Fair, they were able to hold another successful exposition, this time in the far west. After five years of preparation, the gates of the Lewis and Clark Centennial and Oriental Fair at Portland, Oregon, were opened on June 1, and closed on October 15, after 137 days of highly successful management. The United States Government made a very elaborate exhibit, while many foreign countries were represented either officially or by private displays. Among the foreign countries represented were Great Britain, Canada, Germany, Holland, Italy, Japan, China, Turkey, Austria-Hungary, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Switzerland, Egypt, Korea, Siam and Russia. The exposition represented an expenditure of about $7,500,000, of which Portland contributed $400,000, and the State of Oregon $450,000.

The site chosen contained 406 acres near the residence portion of the city, of which 186 acres formed a peninsula on which the buildings were placed. These included special buildings for Forestry, Oriental Exhibits, Agriculture, European Exhibits, Machinery, Electricity and Transportation, Mines and Metallurgy, Arts and Varied Industries, Fine Arts, and a great Festival Hall, in addition to the buildings erected by the National Government and the various States. A feature of the fair was the presence of various annual conventions, over thirty in number, which met at Portland. For the amusement seeker many forms of entertainment were provided, most of which were assembled, as has been customary in recent expositions, on one street, the "Trail." No untoward occurrences marred the success of the Fair, which closed its gates with a satisfactory financial record.

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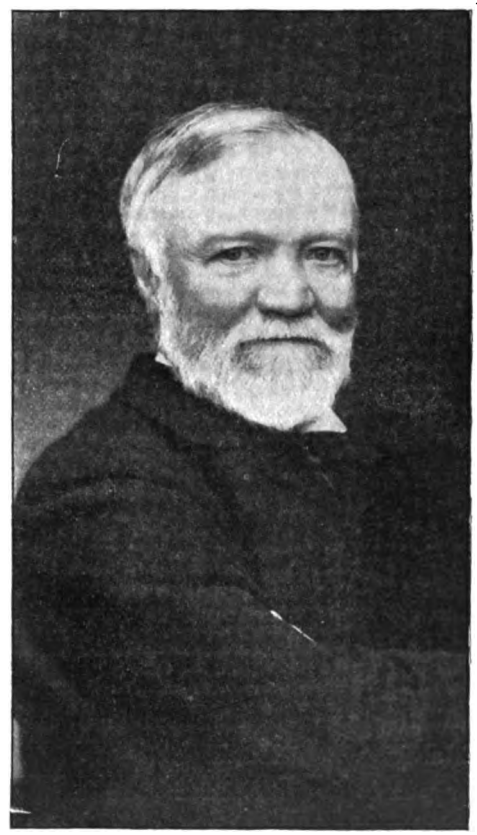
The first year of President Roosevelt's second administration was signalized by an act of the greatest significance, not alone for Roosevelt's fame, but for the nation at large, and for its relation to the other nations of the earth. For many months the world had watched with bated breath the gigantic struggle in the East between Russia and Japan, a contest more bloody and relentless than any war of the world's history, and filled with thrilling deeds and incidents. The course of the war had been one of nearly unbroken success for the Japanese, who were just making their sudden entrance into the ranks of modern nations. But the vast resources of the Russian Empire and the dogged valor and resistance of the Russian soldier showed no signs of failing even in the face of constant and crushing reverses, and in spite of the frightful slaughter on both sides. The world had grown weary of the carnage, but the complexity of international relations made it impossible for any European government to intervene between the contestants. At this juncture President Roosevelt in communications to the Czar and the Mikado offered the good offices of the United States, the only nation which by reason of its position in international politics could not be accused of any selfish interest in the matter at stake. The acceptance of the President's offer gave to the United States the opportunity of demonstrating to the world the force of a great people's influence when cast on the side of peace between nations.



ANDREW CARNEGIE.

Each of the countries at war appointed delegates to a peace conference to be held on the neutral ground of the United States. Russia sent her leading statesman, Count Sergius Witte, and Baron Rosen, the Russian ambassador to the United States. Japan's negotiators were Baron Komura, her minister of foreign affairs, and Mr. Takahira, the Japanese minister to the United States.

With the advent of the hot weather, the sessions of the conference were transferred to the old town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, which thus became temporarily the world's diplomatic center. There day after day the commissioners presented and discussed the demands of each nation in secret session while an army of foreign press correspondents kept watch on the proceedings, eager for the first hint which might indicate the final result. It was a period of tense expectation, for while the Commissioners evidently were earnest in their desire for peace, deadlocks arose on several occasions and at times it appeared that the conference would be fruitless. The

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President was in constant touch with the deliberations and at crucial times conferred with members of the Commission. What the nature and results of his intervention were was of course not given out; but at last through Japanese concessions an agreement was reached, and on September 5, 1905, the document henceforth to be known as the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed, bringing the war to an end. The credit for this happy result is universally accorded to Theodore Roosevelt, whose wise efforts have given the country over which he presides its highest stamp of greatness as an upholder of peace.

Beyond the stirring political events of 1905, the year brought into prominence forces which are working for higher civilization and business and political purity. The people, aroused at last, have brought to the bar the corrupters of state and city politics as never before. In New York City, the District Attorney, William Travers Jerome, after a term of office during which he had earned the enmity of all classes of evil-doers, gained a moral triumph, the effects of which on popular government cannot be overestimated, by pitting himself alone against all the forces of party corruption, and appealing directly to the people, who returned him by a large majority to the office in which he had earned so much for them. Similar reform movements took place in Philadelphia and other cities, all of which made evident the fact which forms the strength of our system, that the ultimate power, and therefore all the responsibility, lie in the hands of the people themselves.

On the management of the great industrial and fiduciary institutions likewise the light of investigation has been turned and has revealed, particularly in the great insurance companies, a condition of corruption and "graft" at which the country has stood aghast. Lifelong reputations have shriveled in the popular indignation and systems have been overturned. The results are already apparent, and it is to be expected that in the future those who intrust their earnings to others for the protection of their families may be enabled to rely with confidence on the integrity of those who accept the trust.

Education, too, has shared in the general awakening, and 1905 was made memorable by two great gifts, one of $10,000,000 by John D. Rockefeller to the Southern Education Board, and one of the same amount by Andrew Carnegie to establish a fund for pensioning retired college instructors. A system was perfected by which German and American universities are to exchange individual professors for certain periods, thus affording each nation opportunity for closer study of the other.

One of the least encouraging signs of the times is the attitude of the people and the authorities toward the needless loss of life in railroad casualties, which reaches in this country the appalling annual average of 10,000 killed and 75,000 injured, a record impossible in any country but this, where too often everybody's business is nobody's business.

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CHAPTER XXI.

ROOSEVELT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1905—CONTINUED—DEATH OF EMINENT AMERICANS.

IT is an impressive commentary on the terrific strain of the great Civil War that so few of the survivors remain with us. Hardly were the banners furled when the procession to the grave began. The drums that had beat the charge in battle were muffled and those who had passed unscathed through the furnace of conflict now succumbed to the burden that had been borne so long without flinching. Call over the names of the leaders on both sides of that tremendous struggle, and few of them are left with us. Soon all will take their places in the silent chambers of the dead, and nothing will remain but their fragrant memory and our pride in their heroic deeds.

Another striking truth is that few of our Presidents have survived long after laying down the cares of office. It is interesting to note, however, that when Washington died there was one man living who had been President, and eleven who were destined to be. When John Quincy Adams passed away in 1848, he had seen all the preceding Presidents, while every one who succeeded him down to the close of the nineteenth century was alive. The longest interval between the deaths of two who had been President was twenty-six and a half years, that being the interval that followed the death of Washington. The next longest interval was between 1849 and 1862. At this writing, the only ex-President living is Grover Cleveland.

Benjamin Harrison died of pneumonia, March 13, 1901, at his home in Indianapolis. A biographical sketch has been given of him in another place. After his retirement from the presidency he resumed the practice of the law, in which he was eminently successful. In the winter of 1893–94 he delivered a course of lectures on constitutional law at Leland Stanford Jr. University, and was one of the counsel for Venezuela before the Anglo-Venezuelan boundary arbitration tribunal in 1899. Later he was appointed by President McKinley a member of the international court of arbitration established as a result of the Peace Conference at The Hague. As has been said, Benjamin Harrison never had a superior as an off-hand speaker, and his speeches were models of taste, beauty and eloquence. Many a time he was called upon to address distinguished bodies, with barely five or ten minutes in which to gather his thoughts, and yet he never failed to impress his hearers by his force, charm and exceptional power of expression. He was prominent in the counsels of his church, the Presbyterian, and when he passed away, commanded the respect of all his countrymen, for it cannot be denied that he had proved himself fully worthy of it.

Garret Augustus Hobart, Vice-President under McKinley, was called hence before Harrison, his death occurring at his home in Paterson, N. J., November 21, 1899. Prob-

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ably no more brilliant man than Mr. Hobart ever presided over the United States Senate. He was one of the keenest of wits, and in repartee never met his master. On more than one occasion, when he was a member of the New Jersey legislature, before his rise to national prominence, he was verbally attacked by his political opponents. Sometimes these attacks were good-natured and sometimes otherwise, but in every instance he vanquished his assailants by his quickness, wit, and thorough knowledge of parliamentary tactics. While a slur was on the lips of some political enemy he overwhelmed him with ridicule by the deftness with which he turned the tables upon him. He was possessed of a winsome magnetism which drew enemies as well as friends to him. As a proof of his marvelous memory he has been known to correct the figures of a dry statistical report a month old, when the secretary of a meeting was reading the minutes. In Paterson he knew the name of every policeman, motorman, conductor, and public official, and could give a minute history of the city from its birth to the latest date. He had Blaine's wonderful faculty of never forgetting a face or name, some of his feats of memory being almost incredible.

When chosen Vice-President, and called upon to preside over the Senate, his exceptional fitness quickly made itself manifest. He was a master of parliamentary law, familiar with precedents, and could never be caught at disadvantage. His fairness was praised by Democrats no less than Republicans, and had his life been spared to succeed McKinley upon his lamentable assassination, he could not have failed to make one of the most successful of all our Presidents.

Perhaps next in eminence among the deaths was that of John Sherman, who passed away October 22, 1900. He was a brother of General Sherman, and belonged to a distinguished family, having been born in Ohio May 10, 1823. He possessed marked ability and was identified with the Republican party from its birth. He studied law and practiced at Mansfield in his native State and was a member of Congress from 1855 to 1861. He was then elected to the United States Senate, and was re-elected, except for the period of 1877–81, when he was Secretary of the Treasury, and in that office had much to do with bringing about specie payments.

Senator Sherman had set his heart upon obtaining the presidency and was a strong candidate before the conventions of 1880 and 1888. He always believed that if he had been fairly treated, the nomination would have gone to him, with the assurance of election to the high office. He betrayed considerable bitterness of feeling over his treatment, and was not always wise in his utterances. Probably no man had a greater contempt for public office than his brother, General Sherman. When he was approached with a suggestion of running for the presidency, he replied in language so forceful and scornful that the whole country was amused. He tried to persuade the Senator to throw aside all political aspirations, and when he did not, the General was unmerciful in "guying" him, though it is not to be supposed that the soldier did not sympathize with the statesman.

President McKinley appointed Senator Sherman Secretary of State, but he had not been long in office when it became apparent to his friends that his mind was failing. He retained his place for a considerable time during the war with Spain, but was relieved

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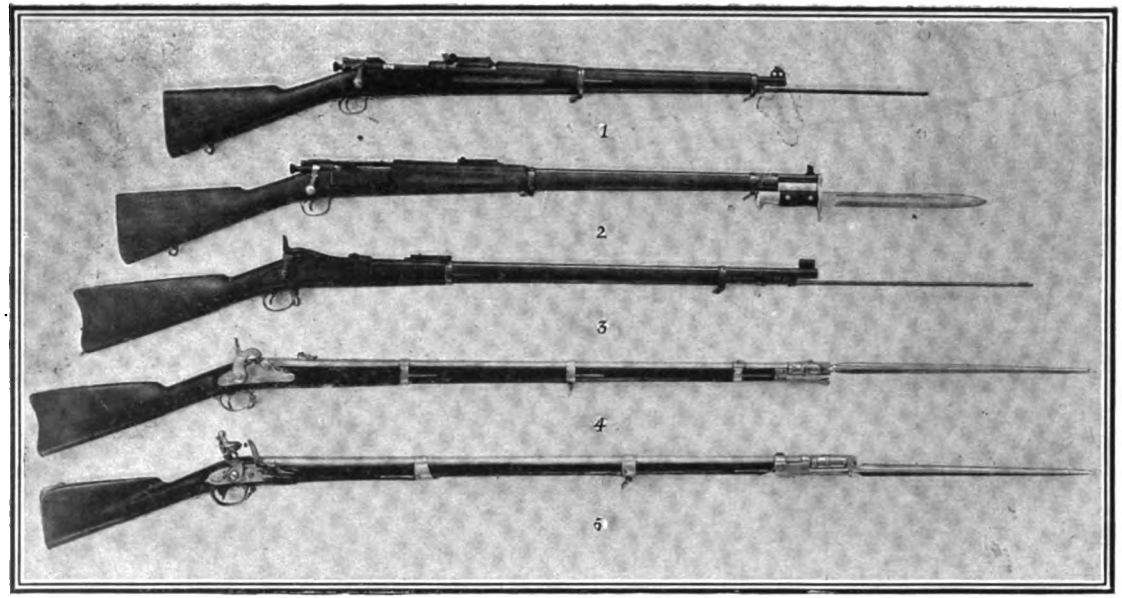
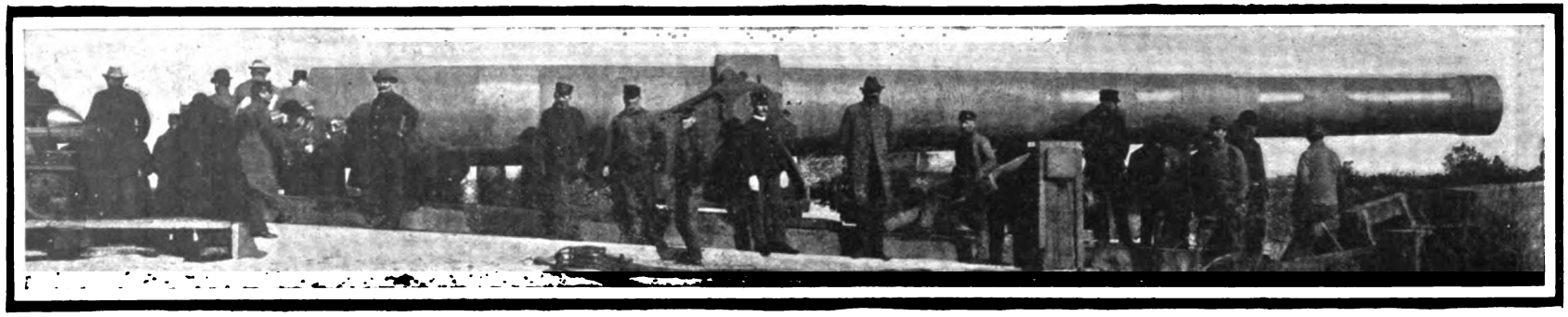


EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN SMALL ARMS.

(1. New Springfield magazine rifle, caliber .30, with rod-bayonet. 2. Krag-Jörgensen magazine rifle, caliber .30, with knife-bayonet; used during the war with Spain. 3. Springfield breech-loader, single shot, caliber .45, with rod-bayonet; issued to army in 1873; the rod-bayonet, however, was adopted in a later issue. 4. Old Springfield muzzle-loader, using percussion caps, with long angular bayonet, used during and before the Civil War. 5. Flintlock musket, used before and after the Revolution.)



A MODERN GUN.

WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENTS IN INVENTION.

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of the real work, and withdrawing to his home, died on the date named, from general debility.

An international loss was the death of John Fiske, philosopher, historian, and lecturer, which took place at Gloucester, Mass., July 4, 1901. He was born in Hartford, Conn., in 1842, and entering Harvard at the age of eighteen, passed beyond the college course while still a Sophomore. He was graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1865, but six months later abandoned law for literature, for which he had always shown a strong liking. His superb ability was so well appreciated by Harvard University that it may be said they never fully relaxed their hold upon him. He was either a lecturer on philosophy, instructor in history, assistant librarian, or a member of the Board of Overseers, holding also a non-resident professorship in history at Washington University, St. Louis.

Gradually Professor Fiske came to devote his main attention to history, though his chief fame at home and abroad was as a philosopher and expounder of the doctrines of Herbert Spencer. There was no more popular lecturer in England than he, and the most cultured audience always gave him royal welcome. Among his leading works are: "Myths and Myth Makers," "The Idea of God," "The Destiny of Man," "American Political Ideals," "The Critical Period of American History," "The Beginnings of New England," "The War of Independence," "The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America," "Darwinism and Other Essays," and "Through Nature to God."

Major-General Daniel Butterfield, who was born at Utica, N. Y., in 1831, died at Cold Spring in the same State, July 17, 1901. He was graduated at Union College in 1849, and entered his father's service, he being the founder of the American Express Company. He showed military leanings, and served in the New York State militia for ten years, when as colonel of the 12th New York militia, 1861, he led the advance to Virginia. He took an active part in the Peninsular campaign and was severely wounded at Gaines Mill, but resolutely remained in the field, for which he received a medal of honor from Congress. He was busily occupied in the service during the remainder of the war and won rapid promotion, finally attaining the rank of major-general in the regular army. When the war closed, General Butterfield was made superintendent of the general recruiting service of the army, and placed in command of the forces in New York harbor. He resigned in 1869 and became assistant treasurer of the United States in charge of the Sub-Treasury at New York.

General Butterfield served as chief of General Hooker's staff and was retained in that responsible office by General Meade at the terrific battle of Gettysburg. At the close of the bloody second day, General Meade called his corps commanders to headquarters to learn their views about the critical struggle which was then close at hand. At that memorable conference there were present Generals Slocum, Sedgwick, Howard, Hancock, Newton, Sykes, Birney, A. S. Williams, Gibbon, and Butterfield. As you will recall, the decision was unanimous to maintain the lines and that the movements of the enemy should be awaited, before the Union forces assumed the offensive. In the awful conflict of the next day, Meade's headquarters were pierced by scores of bullets and General Butterfield was wounded, though not severely.

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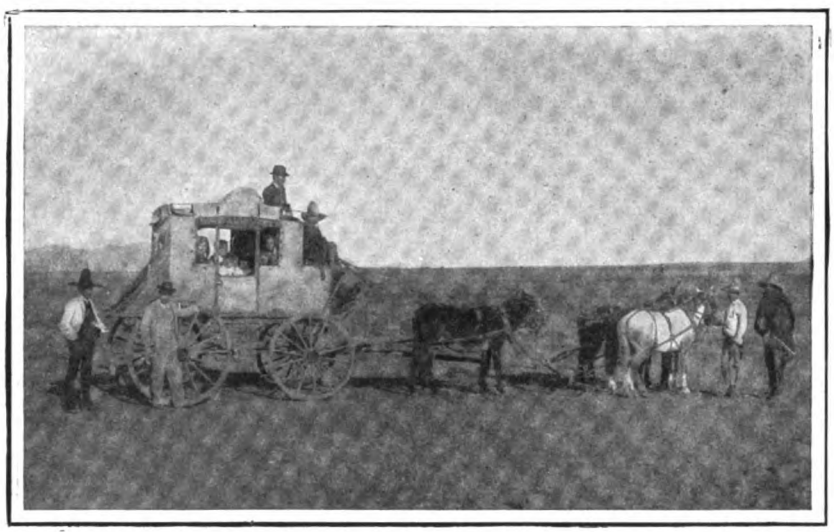
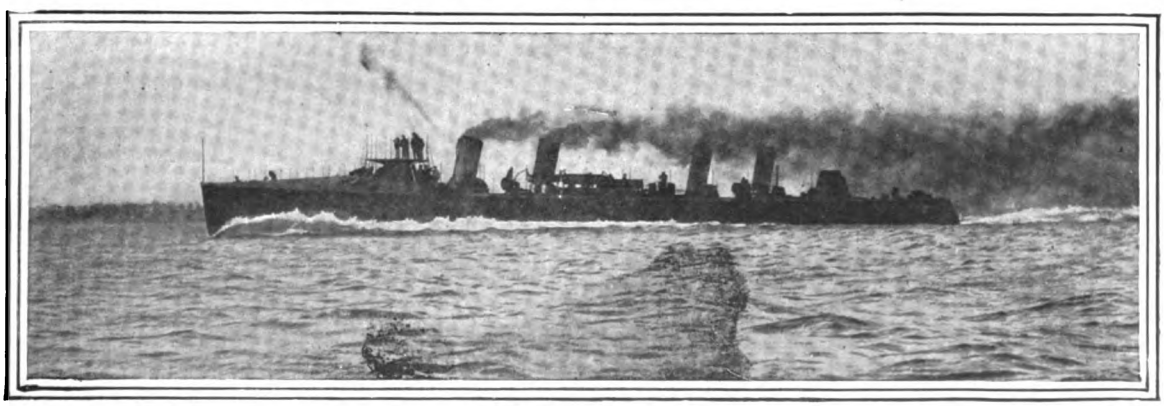
THE VEHICLES OF THE OLD AND THE NEW CENTURY.



TRAVELING BY STAGE COACH.



OUR LATEST NAVAL TRIUMPH—THE TORPEDO BOAT "BAILEY," SPEEDING AT OVER THIRTY-FIVE MILES AN HOUR. THE FASTEST CRAFT EVER BUILT ON THE ATLANTIC COAST.

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The death of Fitz-John Porter, major-general of volunteers, and colonel U. S. A., retired, at Morristown, N. J., May 21, 1901, recalled a painful episode in his career nearly forty years before. He was born in New Hampshire in 1822, was graduated from West Point in 1845, and as soon as the war with Mexico broke out, he went thither and served to the close. His military training and experience caused his assigment to the Army of the Potomac, upon the breaking out of the War for the Union, and he soon rose to the command of a corps. He distinguished himself in the Seven Days' battles, particularly at Gaines Mill and Malvern Hill. This caused him to be made major-general of volunteers, and soon afterward General Pope was placed in command of the Army of the Potomac, because of the dissatisfaction with the tardiness of General McClellan.

At the second battle of Bull Run, where the Unionists were defeated, General Porter and his corps were present, and remained inactive during the first day (August 29, 1862), but they took a leading part the next day. Because of his inactivity at first, he was deprived of his command, and there was much indignation expressed against him throughout the North. Those were passionate days, and the declaration was often heard that General Porter ought to be shot for his cowardice or treason or both, since many would not believe that any satisfactory explanation could be made of his inaction when he and his corps were so sorely needed. What perhaps gave bitterness to these charges was the fact that Porter was known to be a warm personal friend of McClellan, who had been deprived of command, and whose popularity with the army, despite his repeated failures, never wholly disappeared. There are many to-day who maintain that McClellan was unjustly treated by the administration, and that, had he been supported as cordially as was General Grant, he would have been equally successful. It seemed natural for Fitz-John Porter and others to show their resentment by a lukewarmness in supporting his successor. It is a shameful fact that more than once the petty jealousy among officers has led to the sacrifice of numberless lives, though it must not be supposed that anything of that nature occurred in the case of General Porter.

In the hot flush of rage over his course, he was deprived of his command, but Pope made such a failure that McClellan was recalled to the head of the Army of the Potomac, and Porter was restored to his command and took part in the Antietam campaign, where McClellan gave the final proof of his timidity and fear of taking chances. The indignation against Porter would not be quieted, and in November he was called before a court martial which declared him guilty, and he was cashiered in January, 1863.

During this trial, facts were brought out in favor of Porter which caused many people to fear that injustice had been done him. Although convicted, it was not clear to every one that he had not done the proper thing in refusing to obey the orders of General Pope, who was ignorant of the difficulties and conditions that surrounded his subordinate. After the war, repeated efforts were made by General Porter and his friends to secure a reversal of judgment, but it took twenty years for the passions to cool, and it was not until General Grant investigated the findings of the court martial, and declared that General Porter had not been justly treated, that Congress in 1886 restored him to the army with the rank of colonel, without pay for the past, and retired

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him. It is inevitable that under the stress and excitement of war injustice is sometimes done, but the American people are quick to right such a wrong. Indeed it must be said that they are sometimes too quick, and that punishment is often remitted when to do so is injurious to discipline and the morale of the army. It became a saying among the Union generals, that when a soldier was found guilty of any crime which called for capital punishment, the sentence must be carried out without delay, else President Lincoln would interfere. He did so many times, and who to-day does not feel glad that the arm of mercy was thus interposed by that great and good man?

John Woodward Philip, Rear Admiral U. S. N., died suddenly at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, June 30, 1900. He was a native of New York City, where he was born in 1840, and, graduating from the Naval Academy, received his commission as "middy" January 1, 1861, just in time to take part in the Civil War. He was engaged mostly in blockading service, and while executive officer of the *Pawnee* was wounded in the leg in the Stone River fight. His successive promotions were: Acting master, June 1, 1861; Lieutenant, July 16, 1862; lieutenant-commander, July 25, 1866; commander, December 18, 1874; captain, March 31, 1889; commodore, 1898; rear admiral, March 3, 1899.

He was on detached service in command of the Woodruff Scientific Expedition around the world in 1877, and served on different duties and stations until October 18, 1897, when he was placed in command of the battleship *Texas*. You have learned of the splendid part she took in the battle of Santiago, where Cervera's fleet was destroyed. In the midst of the infernal clash and din, when it became known that the *Almirante Oquendo* had run upon the beach and surrendered to the *Texas*, the crew of the latter broke into loud cheering, whereupon Commodore Philip raised his hand in protest and called: "Don't cheer, boys; the poor devils are dying!" The expression was so natural, so characteristic of the man and so creditable to humanity, that it endeared him to the hearts of the people. This admiration was deepened when it became known that he was as modest as a schoolboy, with a waggish, fun-loving disposition, and withal a devout Christian. Add to these characteristics his courage, self-reliance, devotion to duty and consideration for others, and it is easy to understand why he was always one of the most beloved officers in the navy.

The Americans are the greatest inventors in the world. No other nation can compete with them, and though an overwhelming majority of the devices patented—and the Patent Office Department will patent almost anything—are worthless, yet many are not only remarkably ingenious but possess great value. One of the many successful inventors was Professor Elisha Gray, a native of Ohio, who died in Massachusetts on the last day of the nineteenth century. He was educated at Oberlin College, and, in 1867, when thirty-two years old, he took out his first patent on telegraphic apparatus. For several years he was a manufacturer of electrical instruments in Chicago, but his interest in scientific subjects took him to Europe in 1874, for the purpose of studying acoustics. In 1876, he filed an application for a patent on a telephone, and on the same day Professor Alexander Graham Bell made application for precisely the same invention. This threw the question into the courts, which adjudged that priority of invention belonged to Professor Bell.

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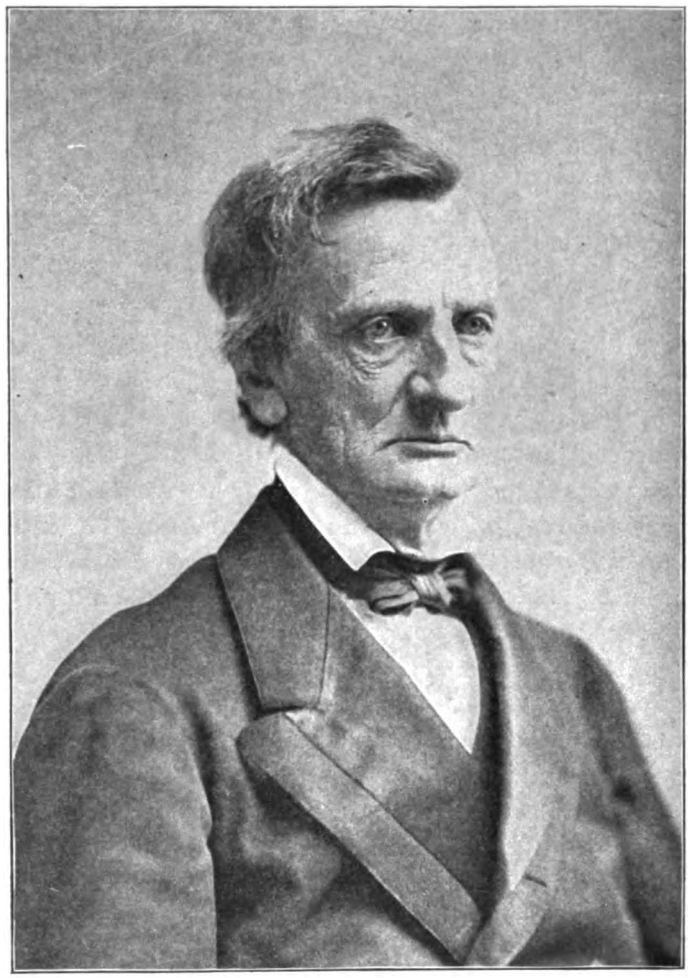
Had Professor Gray succeeded in this legal contest he would have acquired millions of dollars. As it was, he never obtained very great financial results. Within the ten or twelve years following his failure against Professor Bell, he obtained more than forty patents connected with telephony. His other inventions included a large number of telegraphic instruments, among them the "telautograph," which reproduces handwriting



WILLIAM MAXWELL EVARTS.

or drawings and designs in outline. The latter part of his life was devoted to the study of a system of submarine signaling.

Another death which deserves reference was that of Thomas Shaw, sometimes called the "Edison of Pennsylvania," who died at Hammonton, N. J., in January, 1901. His patents numbered hundreds, and ninety-one of them related to engineering subjects, including the mercury steam gauge, noiseless steam exhaust, Verona nut lock washer, dead-strike hammer, and the Shaw gas tester for testing the presence and percentage of fire damp in coal mines.

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William Maxwell Evarts, eminent lawyer, statesman and orator, born in Boston in 1818, died in New York City in February, 1901. He was graduated at Yale in 1837, and studied law at the Harvard Law School, 1838–39, taking up the practice two years later in New York. His marked ability led to his rapid advancement and he became assistant U. S. district attorney in 1849, holding the office for four years. He was attorney-general of the United States from July, 1868, to March, 1869; secretary of State, 1877–81, and United States Senator from New York, 1885–91.

The reputation of Mr. Evarts was mainly due to the notable cases with which he was connected. The first of these was the Lemmon slave case, which reached the court of appeals in 1861. He was always a Republican in politics, and, in 1860, was chairman of the New York delegation to the Republican convention. In 1865 and the year following, he established the unconstitutionality of State taxation of United States bonds or National Bank stock. In 1868, President Johnson was impeached, and, as we know, came within a single vote of being convicted and removed. His counsel in that memorable trial was Mr. Evarts, who immediately after become attorney-general of the United States. In 1872, when the *Alabama* claims came up for adjudication at Geneva, he had charge of the case for the United States. Perilous times came to our country in 1877, when the Hayes-Tilden contest took place before the Electoral Commission. There, Mr. Evarts acted as counsel of the Republican party, and it was only natural that President Hayes, who was not morally elected to the presidency, should reward the man that had been so instrumental in placing him there, by making him his secretary of State.

Mr. Evarts attracted hardly less attention to himself for six months in 1874, when he was chief counsel for Henry Ward Beecher in his famous trial. He was a delegate to the International Monetary Conference in 1881, and for more than a score of years was the foremost lawyer in the country. He was noted for his wit and power of oratory, and his numerous addresses were greatly admired for their beauty of diction and grace of expression.

Carl Schurz, soldier, statesman, and writer, who was Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes, died at his home in New York, May 14, 1906, at the age of seventy-seven. He was born near Cologne, Germany. He joined the revolutionary movement in 1848 and was captured and imprisoned, but escaped and went to Paris, where he remained for two years. He married in 1852 and came to America, where he soon became an influential leader in politics and public affairs. As was truly said in one of the many eulogies of him, Mr. Schurz has been not only the most conspicuous figure among Americans of German birth, but he has been one of the chief of our American statesmen. His part in public affairs during the last half century has been large, helpful, and creative. The good he did lives after him, and will be a continuing force in our National life, unconsciously moving the minds of men long after all personal recollection of his exhortations and of his ideals has faded.

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CHAPTER XXII.

ROOSEVELT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION (CONTINUED)—THE SAN FRANCISCO EARTHQUAKE—OUR ISLAND POSSESSIONS.

YOU have already been told of some terrible catastrophes within our borders involving great loss of life and property, but we now come to the most appalling disaster known to the annals of American history. On the morning of the 18th of April, 1906, the beautiful and prosperous city of San Francisco, with a population of four hundred thousand souls, was almost entirely destroyed by a violent earthquake and a subsequent fire that followed, causing a loss of many lives and property of an estimated value of $250,000,000. The shock occurred a few minutes past five o'clock, while the inhabitants were in bed, and produced the greatest consternation and terror. The catastrophe came without warning, and in an instant the walls of great buildings were crumbling into shapeless heaps of fragments, burying scores of frantic victims beneath the ruins. The people, many of them half naked, ran hither and thither, dazed and horrified by the awful spectacle of death and destruction that confronted them.

As terrible as was the scene after the earthquake had done its awful work, an even more devastating agency was waiting to complete the destruction. Before the people had recovered their senses, and before the clouds of dust from the demolished buildings had cleared away, forked flames, like serpents' tongues, were seen to shoot up into the turbid atmosphere at several points in the business section of the city where the largest and most magnificent commercial and municipal structures were located. It was then discovered that the water mains had been broken by the earthquake shock, thus shutting off the water supply and rendering the fire department impotent in their efforts to check the spread of the flames. Dynamite was then resorted to, and scores of buildings were blown up in the hope of saving others in the fire's path, but the flames leaped over the gaps and continued their work of destruction until three-fourths of the city lay a blackened waste of ruins, and 300,000 people were made destitute and homeless. Great suffering and perhaps famine and pestilence were imminent unless prompt measures for relief were taken. Offers of assistance came at once from all parts of the country, and before the ashes of the conflagration had cooled, money and supplies began to flow into the stricken city. The amount contributed by the entire country reached nearly $30,000,000, including $2,500,000 appropriated by Congress. New York City alone raised nearly $3,000,000.

As accounts of eye-witnesses of thrilling events of this kind usually present more vivid pictures of the scene than ordinary description affords, we give place to the following story of the personal experiences of Mr. Louis Honig, a San Francisco newspaper man, published in the *N. Y. Evening World:*

"At 5:13 o'clock on Wednesday morning, according to the big clocks of San Francisco, which still register the fateful time, I was awakened by a heavy shock. Having

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had some experience with earthquakes, I realized in a moment from the vibrations and general swirling motion that this was no ordinary earthquake. It shook, according to time, less than a minute, but it seemed as if the earth were rocking for fully ten minutes. Fifteen minutes after everybody in San Francisco who could move his or her legs was out in the streets, dressed hurriedly and scantily. Women did not re-enter their homes for many hours after, fearing a recurrence of the earthquake.

"While the fear and terror were still in their hearts volumes of smoke began to pour skyward in the business district of the city. It was then that the earthquake was forgotten in the new danger of conflagration.

"The earthquake had done tremendous damage. From the business section of the city alarming reports reached persons in the residential districts that the great landmark structures of San Francisco, such as the *Call* Building, the *Chronicle* Building and others, had toppled over. This gained ready credence and tended to create a panicky feeling. With the recurrence of slight shocks all San Francisco was prepared for anything, even the crack of doom. Church steeples had been demolished, nearly every chimney in the town had been thrown to the streets, tons of graystone were scattered about the sidewalks, giving the city an appearance of a bombarded town. With such sights as these before their eyes and the alarming reports exciting them to a greater fear it was no wonder that all San Francisco began to prepare for an exodus.

"It was the fire that temporarily drove the fear of the earthquake out of mind. Starting in three different sections of the business district at one time, the lines of separation were gradually obliterated and a fire of colossal dimensions gave the crippled fire department a task with which it was impossible to cope. The Grand Opera House and all Mission Street, in the central portion of the city, seemed to be a gigantic cauldron of flame. Farther east the fire was reaching toward the Palace Hotel. If it once crossed Market Street, the bank and office building section of the town was doomed.

"Water grew scarcer and scarcer. The earthquake had so demolished the mains that only a few pipes could be brought into play. But nothing could stem that onrush of flames, and before noon of Wednesday, the day of the earthquake, it was decided to use dynamite with the hope of confining the fire to three square blocks in the very heart of the city. The firemen worked bravely, even heroically, from the very outset. Citizens gave a hand, thinking that their business might be saved. Blast after blast of dynamite, heard to the very ends of the city, apprised all that water had given out and that drastic fire-fighting measures had been taken.

"That blasting continued for two full days and the fire, which started early Wednesday morning, was not under control until it had consumed an area approximating ten square miles. The scenes of heroism, especially on the part of the firemen, will never be forgotten by any who saw them work twenty-two hours of the twenty-four.

"As the fire crept westward persons in the Western Addition began to fear for their homes. This is the section where the most prosperous classes have built for themselves the prettiest homes to be found in the West. Nob Hill, that eminence of San Francisco on which were built the magnificent residences of Stanford, Huntington,

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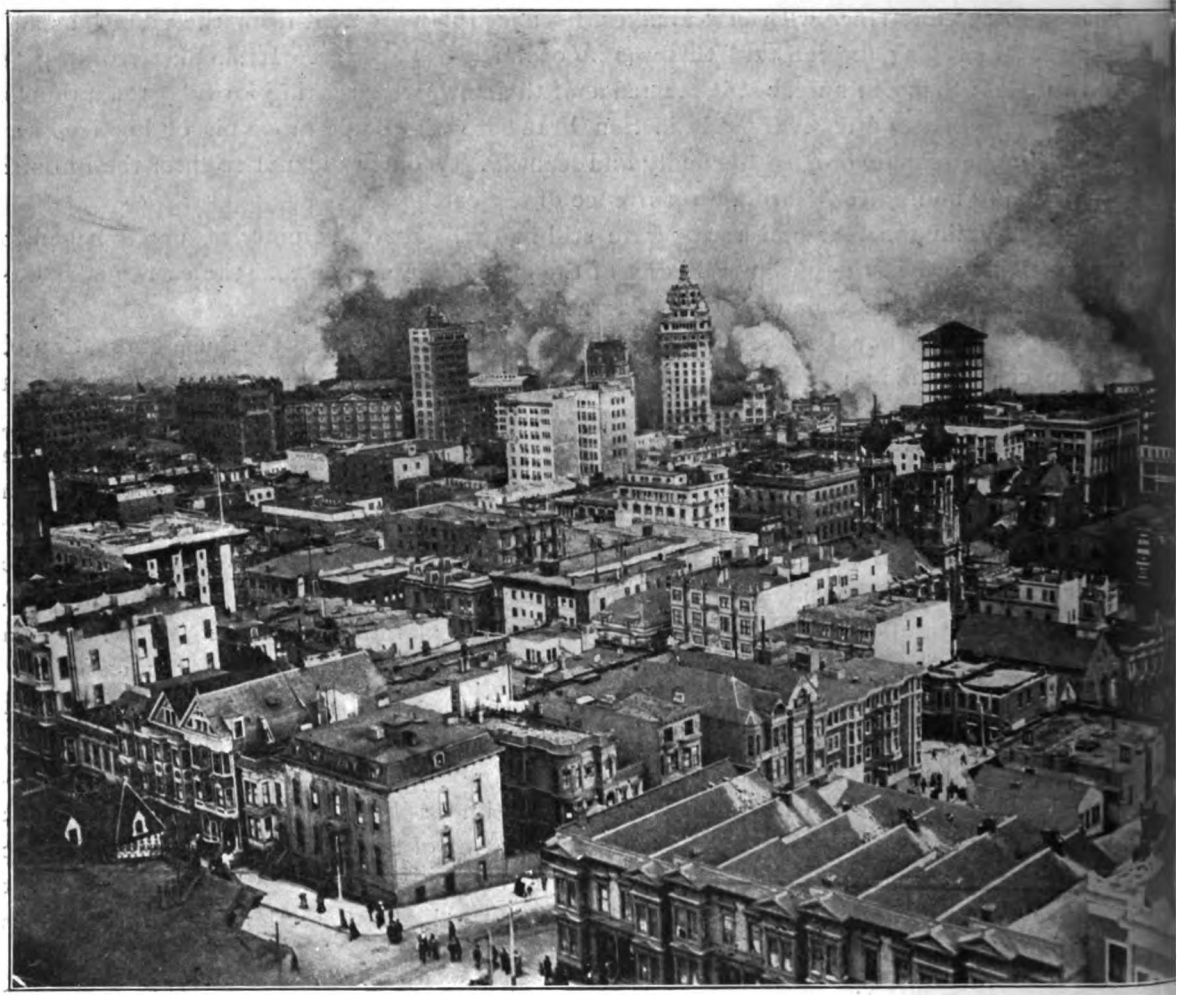

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THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO DURING THE F

This picture was taken before the fire had swept over the city, and shows that while the dama
Groups of people may be seen standi

Flood, Hopkins, and the most beautiful hotel in the world, the Fairmount, seemed sure of safety against the flames reaching below. That was on Wednesday. One day later Nob Hill had been devastated of all consumable material. The marble Fairmount was besmudged and charred from its foundation to its highest point. All within had been mere food for the flames.

"Westward went the fire, advancing block by block, driving thousands into the streets toward the safe places in the parks and open spaces. Every kind of wagon was brought into service and San Francisco looked like an army on the move, taking its own provisions. It would take too long to tell of the misery and the suffering, the pathetic side of the rush for safety. Cosmopolitan San Francisco became more cosmopolitan as it camped in the Presidio, in the Golden Gate Park and on the beach.

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OWING THE EARTHQUAKE SHOCK, APRIL 18.

arthquake was serious, the loss from this cause alone would have been comparatively small.
ofs, watching the spread of the flames.

Chinese, Italians, Mexicans, Armenians, Spanish all became brothers in this stressful time. On every hand some act of kindness, some charity was done.

"The temper of the people was the most surprising phase of the earthquake and the subsequent fire. Men who had just lost their homes smiled and shrugged their shoulders. The women, realizing that the fire had shown no favoritism, made the best of the situation, which was black indeed.

"Now, once more to the fire. The wind had been blowing slightly from the east, an extraordinary weather condition in San Francisco. Had it been from the west the fire would have been confined to the business district, but with that slight east wind and the lack of water there was nothing but dynamite to save the city. Onward spread the flames until they had reached such a point that wholesale dynamiting had to be

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undertaken. Van Ness Avenue, the broadest boulevard of San Francisco, was the stopping point. For a block east of Van Ness Avenue and a mile in length tons of explosives were used to shatter the buildings to put a stop to the incinerating flames. It was more like a cannonading and a bombardment than mere fire-fighting. Each one of those blasts made each and every man and woman in San Francisco jump to his or her feet and say, 'What next?'

"But it did its work, and the fire burned itself out in the western addition. Out in the Mission it raged for several miles, and was extinguished on Friday afternoon. In the North Beach district, where it had spread after consuming Chinatown, it was not put out until Saturday night.

"Never had fire and earthquake in modern times done its work so completely. To look upon the ruins of San Francisco to day is a sickening sight. Every building of note, every landmark has been wiped away. When it is rebuilt it will be another city, and it will take years for San Francisco to regain what it has lost in three days. Not only did the fire consume the material, but with it forever go the color and atmosphere that made San Francisco one of the few distinctive cities of America.

"To escape the wrath of the flames 200,000 people fled to the parks and 100,000 left town. Stoves were built with the bricks of toppled-over chimneys in the streets and improvised kitchens established. Then came the relief stations and food was distributed, so that all should not go hungry. Everybody pitched in. The dead were pulled out of the ruins and buried, the injured were rushed to the hospitals and the sick were attended to.

"Bread lines were formed and a certain sort of order established out of chaotic turmoil.

"Martial law had been declared on Wednesday afternoon. Thieves were shot and a rigid guardianship placed on all property. It was military law, well planned and well executed, and the fact that San Francisco to-day is not ridden over by the lawless element is due to the quick establishment of martial law.

"A line twenty-six miles long would confine the devastated section of the city. Within, all is a heap of ashes, a few tottering walls and ruin absolute."

The damage was not confined to San Francisco alone, but some of the towns south and southeast of the city suffered severely. In Oakland, Alameda, San José, Santa Rosa, Monterey, Salinas, and other places within the zone of the disturbance, all prominent buildings were wrecked or badly injured and many lives were lost. The beautiful structures of the Leland Stanford Jr. University at Palo Alto, costing several million dollars, were nearly all destroyed.

Earthquake tremors in the city of San Francisco and vicinity were not uncommon, and in a few instances they had caused some slight damage but never to an extent to cause any fear or apprehension, but this exhibition of the hidden forces of nature literally upset the oldest inhabitant and all his theories of immunity.

This violent seismic disturbance on the Pacific coast has been of much interest to geologists and scientists since its occurrence, and all agree that it was largely due to

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local causes. The geology of the Coast ranges of California, especially in the vicinity of San Francisco, had been thoroughly inspected and surveyed before the shock, and from certain results of the earthquake the experts believe that the source of trouble in this instance may be traced to what is known geologically as the San Bruno fault. "Faults" in the earth's crust are caused by the lateral or vertical stresses from cooling in the early stage of formation, or to pressure during the more recent periods of the earth's history. Such faults in most cases are formed along ocean coast lines, due, according to accepted theories, to the great pressure caused by the heavy deposits of silt and sand along the ocean's floor. As these deposits have formed, water has been included between the particles and pressure tends to squeeze it out. When this happens a more or less sudden jar occurs and a slight earthquake results. If the jar is sufficiently strong to cause a separation or a sliding in the vicinity of the fault, then this produces a superinduced jar or jolt and a more violent earthquake is noted. The jarring due to settling or to the movements of strata at the point of faults sets up waves in the earth's crust. Sufficient is now known to demonstrate that the severe earthquake of April 18 was due to a sliding of the San Bruno fault. Whether or not this was its original cause, or whether there was some antecedent jar that caused the sliding of the San Bruno fault, is not known, and, indeed, may never be fully explained.

Prof. Tarr of Cornell University immediately after the disaster said:

"Coming so soon after the eruption of Vesuvius, it is natural to think of association between the two phenomena. There is, however, no known geological reason for associating the two. They are too far apart, and on two separate zones of earthquake frequency. For these reasons they can hardly be sympathetic. Geologists will, I feel confident, agree that the close relation between the eruption of Vesuvius and the San Francisco earthquake from the standpoint of time is a mere coincidence. The shock is but one of many in the history of California; it is one out of many in the great circum-Pacific belt of earthquakes even during the present year—one more movement chanced to come near a great city a short time after an eruption of Vesuvius.

"I am confident also that geologists will agree that the San Francisco earthquake is a normal outcome of rock movements which are a necessary result of mountain growth."

Prof. Kemp of Columbia University said: "The present earthquake in all probability was started by a slipping along some fault line, as we call it, in the interior of the earth. A fault line is a line where two or more geological deposits from the same or different formative periods meet. Accelerated by one cause or another, these deposits slip apart and create a rift. There is a consequent adjustment of the crust of the earth to the new conditions in the interior, and this generally is the cause of an earthquake. Fault lines are very common in the mountainous country of California."

Prof. Hovey of the American Museum of Natural History, who visited Martinique soon after the eruption of Mont Pelée and the Soufrière, said: "All the Pacific Coast is comparatively new territory. Frequent seismic disturbances occur there, owing to the fact that the mountain-building forces constantly are at work in this territory. Volcanic and seismic disturbances only mark the efforts of the rigid crust of the earth to conform to the contractions due to loss of heat beneath the surface of the earth.

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"San Francisco stands on ground the foundations of which were formed by ancient volcanoes. These volcanoes date from such ancient ages that there are several other geological formations on top of them and the volcanoes are deep down below the surface of the earth."

The theory of all scientists who have studied the geological formation of California is that the coast has been steadily rising above the sea for thousands of years, and it is believed by some of the scientists that a decided up-lift will be noted as a result of the recent earthquake.

A history of our nation would not be complete without some account of the island territories that have recently come under the dominion of the United States government, viz.: The Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, Porto Rico, Guam of the Ladrone group, Tutuila, and two smaller islands of the Samoan group.

You have learned something of the Philippines and Porto Rico in the narrative of our war with Spain, but as some or all these new possessions may figure prominently in international affairs in the future, some further description of them is of interest. First in importance by reason of their large area and political significance, are

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Twenty-seven years after Columbus reached the West Indies on his first expedition Magellan embarked from Seville, Spain, on a voyage of discovery. Passing through the strait named after this explorer, he landed in 1521 at Butuan, on the north coast of Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands, and took possession of the land in the name of the King of Spain. He afterward went to Cebu, where he was killed in battle on the small island of Mactan. During the next 50 years several other expeditions were sent out from Spain and Mexico to the Philippines, but it was not until the intrepid explorer, Legaspi, arrived in 1565 and transferred his government a few years later to Manila, that the attempts to secure a permanent foothold in the islands were successful.

Legaspi died in 1572 and Guido de Lavezares was appointed to succeed him. During the successful administration of his predecessor commercial relations had been established with the Chinese, who looked with longing eyes upon those fertile lands. In 1574 the Chinese pirate Li-Ma-Hong attempted to capture Manila. His depredations on the Eastern seas, like those of the buccaneers along the Spanish Main, made his name a terror. He had been outlawed by the Chinese Emperor, and he therefore gathered together a fleet of 62 armed junks, and carrying 4,000 soldiers and sailors, with some 1,500 women, set forth to capture and establish a new kingdom.

On arriving at the Bay of Manila in November, 1574, a desperate attack was made, but the pirate failed in his attempt to capture the city, and with a remnant of his force retreated north and attempted to establish himself in Pangasinán, but was soon dislodged by a combined force of Spanish and natives, the latter having set forth on a punitive expedition against the marauder. A considerable number of Li-Ma-Hong's forces scattered among the mountains, and intermarried among the Igorrote tribes.

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Their descendants may to this day be distinguished by their semi-Chinese features. This victory is still celebrated in the Philippines as a public holiday.

In 1662 another Chinese pirate, Kotinga, demanded the submission of the Archipelago. He had captured Formosa, then under control of the Dutch, and had gathered a very large force about him. His demand for submission was refused and the Filipino Spaniards proposed to resist. Bodies of infantry and a squadron of cavalry were organized, and the churches, convents, and houses outside the walls were razed to the ground.

Kotinga, in order to communicate with the Spaniards, elevated an Italian Dominican missionary, named Vitorio Riccio, to the rank of mandarin, and sent him as ambassador to the governor of the Philippines. The position of this European friar as ambassador of a Mongol pirate was certainly a trying one, though he was received with every mark of respect.

The opinion gained great credence that the Chinese in Manila were parties to the plans of Kotinga, and when a Spaniard was killed in the market, the guns of the fort were trained on the Parian. Many Chinese were killed, others hanged themselves, and some escaped by sea. A general massacre followed, but was finally checked in view of the inconvenience that would have followed from the lack of tradesmen and mechanics.

The next conflict was with the English. In 1762 Spain agreed to unite her forces with those of France against England, and in the war which followed the latter country sent fleets over sea to harass and capture Spanish outposts. The British were everywhere successful. In the West Indies Havana was captured by Rodney and Monckton, and a flotilla of thirteen vessels appeared before Manila, under command of Admiral Cornish. The surrender of the city was demanded, but the Spaniards refused and prepared to make a desperate defense. Brigadier-General Draper thereupon disembarked his troops and again demanded the surrender of the citadel.

The acting governor-general, the Archbishop Manuel Antonio Rojo, was inclined to yield, but a war party under the leadership of Simon de Anda y Salazar determined to resist to the uttermost. There were excesses committed on both sides, and for some time the palm of victory hung in the balance, but the English were finally victorious and entered the city October 5, and their flag floated over the Walled City. A heavy contribution was levied upon the inhabitants, which, however, with the silver from the pious establishments, church ornaments, plate, etc., amounted to but $546,000, and the further sum agreed upon was never paid. By the peace of Paris, February 10, 1763, the Philippines were restored to Spain, and the British retired, leaving the war-wrecked archipelago in possession of the Spaniards. The jealousy and open attacks of the Portuguese, Chinese, Dutch, and English, serious as they were, formed but a part indeed of Spain's military problem in the Philippines. When Spanish sovereignty was proclaimed over the entire archipelago, it was for the purpose of announcing to the world to keep hands off, rather than a statement of an accomplished fact. Spanish sovereignty was at first limited by the range of old matchlocks. There was no community of interests between the different tribes. They had no common language, no common head, no confederacy.

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The Spaniards did not have to divide in order to conquer. The people were already divided, and the Spanish sphere of influence was gradually increasing by attacking one tribe after another and conquering each district separately.

For the purposes of conquest this was an advantage, but it imposed almost insuperable obstacles to the task of unifying the people after they became subject to Spain. For three centuries or more the Spanish rulers attempted to cultivate a feeling of nationality that was foreign to the native mind. The different tribes hated or mistrusted one another, and desired nothing save their own savage independence.

They have been to a great extent isolated throughout the centuries by barriers of mountains or swift channels, and the task before the present Government is to weld these elements by means of highways, railways, a school system common to all and open to all, and allow time to perform its work under these new conditions.

The checkered history of the Philippines and the constant demand made upon the royal treasury for their maintenance and defense naturally raised the question of their retention or abandonment. It was urged that they could never be altered for the better; that the vast quantities of silver sent there from other Spanish possessions were absorbed by the Chinese; that the islands were so separated by dangerous seas that they could never be welded into one compact body politic; and, therefore, it would be better to let them go and work out their own salvation or destruction, as the case might be.

The history of the islands during the Spanish reign is one of almost continuous strife between the natives and the clergy, and the civil and military powers. The government of the islands, inspired by greed and largely controlled by an unscrupulous element in the religious orders, was corrupt and tyrannical, and brought the ruling powers into lasting contempt among the natives. The consequence was that they made frequent attempts to throw off the despotic domination of Spain and participate in the administration of affairs. These uprisings of the natives were suppressed by the Spaniards with great severity, the remembrance of which was preserved from generation to generation, and intensified their hatred toward their foreign oppressors.

These conflicts continued without much advantage to the Filipinos until 1872, when the friars, through their secret agents and other means, succeeded in having the best educated, richest, and most influential Philippine families of Manila banished for treason, and some of the native priests were executed.

About this time communication with the outside world was opened by steamer and telegraph, and this brought them more into harmony with neighboring colonies. Filipinos began to return from Europe with new ideas and new ambitions. Among these was Dr. Rizal, who became the idol of his own countrymen and the arch-foe of the friars, whose immoralities he scathingly exposed. He started a reform party whose object was to bring about by peaceful means several reforms in the government of the islands, chiefly the expulsion of the friars and the curtailment of the arbitrary powers of the governor-general. The failure of this movement led to the formation of a secret organization known as the Katipunan, whose purpose was to secure these reforms by force of arms. They planned a revolt in 1896, but their schemes were prema-

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turely exposed through a traitor in the order, and many prominent Filipinos were imprisoned.

The insurrection spread, however, and there were many bloody encounters, with great slaughter of the insurgents and not an inconsiderable loss to the Spaniards, who had received large re-enforcements of troops. It was at this time that Emilio Aguinaldo appeared as the commander-in-chief of the insurgents. The fighting went on without definite progress on either side until, through negotiations for peace, Aguinaldo, with thirty-five of his chiefs, agreed to leave the islands on payment of $1,200,000 as an indemnity (only $400,000 of which was paid), with the understanding that certain reforms should be made. They left for Hong Kong in December, 1897. As soon as Aguinaldo and his party were safely out of the way, the peace rejoicings in Manila were followed by the persecution of all those who were known to have sympathized with the movement. The prospect of reform was as remote as ever: and other chiefs took the field in Northern Luzon. Succeeding events that led to the end of the oppressive Spanish rule in the Philippines and their occupation by the United States forces have been recounted in preceding pages.

The surface of the Philippines is largely covered with mountains of volcanic origin. There are twenty-three volcanoes in the islands, a number of which are more or less active. The eruptions, as a rule, do not cause any serious damage, although the famous outbreak of 1814 destroyed 1200 lives. As an accompaniment of the volcanoes, the islands are subject to frequent and violent earthquakes. One of the severest ever felt in Luzon occurred in March, 1892, and wrought great havoc in the northwestern provinces. In 1897 the town of Zamboanga was destroyed, with a considerable loss of life caused by falling buildings and immense sea-waves.

The total number of islands in the group is 1725, extending between latitude 4 degrees 40 minutes and 21 degrees 10 minutes N., 1150 statute miles, and between longitude 116 degrees 40 minutes and 126 degrees 34 minutes E., about 650 miles. The land area is 119,542 square miles. The principal island is Luzon, which has an area somewhat larger than the state of New York.

The population, according to the American census of 1903, was 7,635,426, nearly 7,000,000 of which are civilized, or nearly so, and the remainder wild and uncivilized.

There are three distinct races—Negrito, Indonesian, and Malayan. The Negritos are thought to be the remnants of a people that once inhabited the entire archipelago. They are divided into twenty-seven tribes which are found, as a rule, only on the forest-covered slopes of the higher mountains of Luzon and some of the other larger islands. They are physically weak, of low stature, very dark skins, flat noses, and thick lips. Intellectually, they seem unsusceptible to any civilizing influences. The Indonesian race in the Philippines is confined to the island of Mindanao. Physically they are superior both to the Negritos and to the Malayan. The various tribes show every degree of social development, from the lowest savagery to a considerable degree of civilization. Of the forty-seven tribes, seven are Christianized, seven are Mohammedan, and the remainder pagan, but the Christian and the Mohammedan tribes largely predominate.

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Minerals. Our knowledge of the mineral deposits in the Philippines is not yet extensive, but since the American occupation extensive and rich deposits of gold and copper have been discovered. Coal of a very fine quality has also been found, and in large areas, though as yet none of the mines has been worked to any considerable depth.

Climate. There are three seasons: the hot and dry; the hot and wet; and the cool and dry. At Manila the hot and dry includes March, April, and May, and often the first half of June; the hot and wet, the last half of June, July, August, September, and October; and the cool and dry, November, December, January, and February. These conditions do not prevail generally, however, and differences in some cases are marked. For instance, Zamboanga is 425 miles farther south than Manila, yet it has a cooler climate. In some of the highland districts the mean temperature in August, September, and October varies but little from 66 degrees, Fahrenheit. The Philippines are often swept by violent cyclonic storms, known as typhoons, frequently causing heavy loss of life and property. These occur in May and through the summer months until November. Immense damage was done in Manila by the famous typhoon of 1881. In the great storm of 1897 two thousand persons lost their lives in Samar and Leyte. Warnings are now sent out from Manila and annually save many lives and much property.

Animal Life. Quadrupeds, or mammals, in the Philippines are comparatively scarce, particularly the wild species. Among the most noticeable of the domesticated animals is the water buffalo, a slow, lazy beast, but very useful as a draught animal, and for carrying burdens. It is an excellent swimmer and can easily make its way through the worst swamps or quagmires. Domestic goats are abundant, but sheep do not thrive except in some of the highlands. Humped cattle are raised, mainly for their flesh, hides, and horns, having but little value for milk-producing purposes. The native horses are small, but tough and hardy. Among the wild mammalians squirrels and bats are numerous and a species of monkey is common in most of the islands. The flesh of the latter is sometimes eaten by the natives.

Bird life is very abundant and many peculiar species have been discovered. Among the more interesting birds may be mentioned the mound builder, which buries its large eggs in the soft sand along the sea beach, sometimes to the depth of three feet, leaving the young to dig their way out and shift for themselves. The eggs are highly prized by the natives. There are forty-five species of birds of prey, varying in size from a tiny falcon no larger than a sparrow, to an immense monkey-catching eagle, strong and active enough to seize monkeys in the air as they leap from tree to tree. The total number of species of birds in the islands recorded up to 1897 was about 600.

Reptiles, *fishes*, and *molluscs* are found in large numbers and are of great variety. The great python is found throughout the group and sometimes attains enormous size. The gecko, a curious and harmless lizard six to eight inches in length, is common and may be frequently seen on the walls and ceilings of dwellings and elsewhere. Their feet are provided with adhesive disks that enable them to crawl along walls and ceilings as readily as a fly. They have a repulsive and uncanny appearance, but as they are effective insects destroyers, their presence as domestic companions is usually welcome.

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Flying lizards abound in the forests and large iguanas are common. This is a lizard of formidable appearance, sometimes attaining a length of five feet, but are inoffensive if not molested. Their eggs as well as the flesh of some species are highly valued by the natives as food. Crocodiles are very numerous in some regions, and specimens have been obtained measuring eighteen feet in length.

The molluscs of the Philippines are famous for their beauty, variety, and abundance. Their greatest interest lies in their scientific value, although a number of edible forms supply the natives with food.

Fishes are plentiful in all the inland and adjacent waters and furnish an important article of food supply.

The immense *forests* of the islands contain great quantities of very valuable woods especially suitable for fine cabinet work and inside finishings. The timber supply forms one of the great natural sources of wealth in the archipelago, and its preparation for the market promises to be one of the important industries. Tobacco is another important product and its cultivation and manufacture are increasing rapidly. One Manila factory turns out over 100,000 cigars annually. Hemp, sugar, rice, coffee, and sweet potatoes are extensively grown, and the natives depend largely upon the crops of these staples for their prosperity.

Outside of the cigar factories, cotton mills, sugar refineries, and a few other mills of Manila and the vicinity, the Philippines have no important manufactories, although many articles including some fine cotton and silk fabrics, mattings, bags, hats, etc., are produced in considerable quantities by the natives at their homes.

With the extension of railway transportation and the introduction of modern machinery the agricultural and mechanical industries of the country will be enormously increased.

An excellent opportunity for studying the Philippine people, their customs and habits, the resources and products of the islands, was afforded at the World's Fair at St. Louis. The Philippine Exhibit occupied forty-seven acres and more than 1000 natives from various parts of the islands were in attendance. In order to carry out a project on so large a scale, a commission was created by act of Congress November, 1902, which made preparations for an extensive display to represent native life and the resources of the archipelago. The Official Hand Book of the Philippines published by the Philippine Exposition Board in 1903, and the subsequent elaborate reports of the Philippines Commission, contain very complete information and statistics concerning the Philippines, their people, products, government, and their economic conditions.

PORTO RICO.

We are now so familiar with Porto Rico, our adopted Isle of the West Indian Seas, that it is unnecessary to say much about its geography and the recent happenings there, but some incidents in its earlier history may be of interest. You have already learned something of the wanderings of the Spanish explorers among the West India Islands, and along our southern coasts, after the discovery of the New World by Columbus.

One of these expeditions landed on the northwestern coast of Porto Rico and

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started a settlement which they called Caparra. Later this was abandoned and the colony removed to the site of the present capital, San Juan, which was not far distant. Caparra was founded in 1510, and the same year the Indians, though of peaceful disposition under ordinary rule, rebelled against the atrocities committed by the Spaniards. They had given freely of their gold and provisions, and allowed the strangers to roam the island at will and choose sites for their towns, but when it became evident that these white men, who had come up out of the sea, were determined to reduce them to slavery, they revolted.

The Spaniards had told them, and at first they had believed, that the newcomers were immortal, sent from heaven for their edification; but after a while some of them began to have their doubts. At all events, they concluded that if heaven was to be the abode of the Spanish settlers and soldiers, they would have none of it. To test the alleged immortality of the Spaniards, they captured a Spanish soldier and held his head under water for two hours. Then taking him out of the stream they watched him for two days, by which time it was so evident that he was dead, they reported the fact to their chief. The very stream where this interesting event, which led to such dire consequences for the Spaniards, took place is known and is pointed out to-day.

The Indians were brave enough, but they were always peacefully inclined. Their only arms were bows and arrows, wooden spears and stone battle-axes, which were of little avail against the Spaniards with their keen swords and terrible weapons spitting fire and smoke. In the insurrection that followed, they put to death all the Spaniards found outside the town of Caparra, yet the Indians were beaten and later driven to the mines, where the hard labor and confinement soon completed their extermination.

It was in the same year, or the year after, in 1512, that the Spanish settlers made arrangements for the introduction of negro slaves from Africa to fill the places of the Indians they had so cruelly destroyed.

Having put the settlement in good order, Governor Ponce de Leon sailed on the voyage through the Bahamas that resulted in the discovery of Florida, and immortalized his name. In the year 1521, after having great difficulties with the cannibal Caribs of the southern islands, de Leon again sailed northwardly in quest of the fabled Fountain of Youth which he had sought and failed to discover on his previous voyage. He found a soldier's grave only, for he was wounded by a poisoned arrow on the coast of Florida, taken to Havana, and died before he could reach Porto Rico. His remains were carried thither, and in the city of San Juan they are preserved to-day, where also may be seen the house he built—the Casa Blanca—and a monument was erected to his memory.

In 1529, the town of San German was sacked and burned by French privateers, who committed great cruelties upon the coast people, and the next year many settlers were carried off and eaten by the Caribs. A romantic outcome of this invasion was the expedition for the recovery of the captives, led by the wife of an influential citizen, only to find that the chief prisoner had been killed and probably devoured.

It was not until 1516 or 1517 that English vessels first came into the Caribbean, being two ships of war under Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert. Two years after

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that the first English trading vessel arrived at Porto Rico. Captain John Hawkins followed in 1565, and Captain Francis Drake in 1572, but no settlement was founded by either. It was during this audacious voyage of Drake's that that gallant seaman climbed a tree on the highest point of Darien, and saw for the first time the Pacific Ocean, across which he afterwards sailed, being knighted by Elizabeth on his return, in 1581.

As early as 1563, or the year before Shakespeare was born, Hawkins made a profitable voyage to Guinea and back, bringing to the West Indies a cargo of slaves. He was the original slaver, as his friend and kinsman, Drake, was the original royal freebooter. In the interim of his slaving voyages he and Drake bombarded and sacked Spanish cities in the Caribbean islands and made things generally unpleasant for the Spaniards in that region. The depredations of these English adventurers continued for many years, until the King of Spain fitted out the great armada, the fate of which we all know.

In 1586 Drake was commissioned by Queen Elizabeth to do all the harm he could to Spanish shipping, and he again chose the Caribbean Sea as the theatre of his exploits. It would have sorely wounded the dignity of either Sir Francis Drake or his kinsman Sir John Hawkins, had they been classed with the pirates of that day or later, but so the Spaniards viewed them and so contemporaries called them. The last voyage of both these worthies was made in company, and both were dead before it was terminated. Both were buried at sea, Hawkins off the eastern end of Porto Rico, and Drake off a port of the Spanish Main.

In 1698 another English squadron of twenty-two ships attacked San Juan, but was almost entirely destroyed by the elements, a furious hurricane sinking many vessels, and delivering their crews into the hands of their enemies. In 1702 a Dutch and also an English squadron were driven off from San Juan, but a Porto Rican fleet, fitted out to attack the British, was totally destroyed by a hurricane; so that the islanders were now convinced that the previous and similar disasters to the foreigners were not altogether visitations of Providence, as they had hitherto believed.

The seventeenth century was one of trouble and disaster to the Spaniards in the West Indies, particularly in Porto Rico, for the French and English buccaneers were then flourishing. Divided into two bands these pirates committed terrible depredations under the name of *bucaneros* and *filibusteros*, their headquarters being first in the island of St. Kitts, whence they were dislodged by Don Frederico Toledo, who dropped upon them with an expedition from San Juan in 1629–1630, and finally in the island of Tortuga, off the coast of Haiti.

The eighteenth century was peaceful in the main, but toward its close in 1797, after the Franco-Spanish alliance against England, the British made preparations for weakening Spain through repeated attacks upon her colonies. A squadron was assembled in the West Indies under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby which attacked the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Port of Spain, island of Trinidad, with the result that the latter surrendered without firing a shot, and that noble island, together with two hundred pieces of artillery and a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, fell into British hands.

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After the capture of Trinidad, which was confirmed as a British possession in 1802, the English turned their eyes toward Porto Rico, as being the nearest Spanish island of importance, and which, says the English historian of that day, "under an enlightened government might be raised to an eminent rank in the colonial scale."

Abercromby landed his troops off the little hamlet of Cangrejos and made several determined attempts to take San Juan; but after two weeks of desultory bombarding and skirmishing was finally forced to depart with a total loss of two hundred and thirty killed, wounded, and missing. Total Spanish loss was about two hundred.

This was the last bombardment of San Juan until the premature attack upon its fortifications on May 12, 1898. by Admiral Sampson, of the United States navy. Although these old walls, mounted mainly with obselete cannon and mortars, have been objects of ridicule for many years, yet it would seem that they were more nearly impregnable than many modern earthworks.

During the nineteenth century few serious disturbances in Porto Rico occurred save those by sympathetic action with Spanish politics. Thus, during the second decade of the century, while Mexico and the Spanish-American colonies were engaged in throwing off their allegiance to the mother country, some outbreaks occurred in Porto Rico also, but not to an extent that seriously threatened Spanish domination. Again, when Spain was agitated over the Spanish succession, Carlists and Separatists succeeded in making much trouble in the colony, but, in the main, with the exception of an uprising about thirty years ago, Porto Rico has justified its title of "ever loyal and faithful isle."

In fact, the very features of the island lend themselves to the preservation of peace, for, while the island of Cuba affords secure hiding-places for innumerable insurgents, whence they may keep up a desultory but destructive warfare for months and years with impunity, in Porto Rico, on the contrary, there are few points of vantage for the revolutionist. The cry of "*Viva Puerto Rico Libre!*" is as dear to the heart of the average Porto-Riqueño as "*Viva Cuba Libre!*" is to the Cuban insurgent; but he has hardly had an opportunity for raising a banner with the patriotic sentiment inscribed thereon, before the Spanish soldiery have been upon him.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Most of you have probably read about the great navigator, Captain Cook, in your school-books, and that in 1788 he came upon a group of islands in the Northern Pacific Ocean which he named the Sandwich Islands (now the Hawaiian). You remember too his tragic death there at the hands of the natives when he returned the following year, and the story need not be repeated here. Previous to this, these islands were *terra incognita*, although it is claimed they had been discovered earlier by the Spanish.

The Hawaiian Islands, twelve in number, lie along a slightly curved line running in a southeastern and northwestern direction between 155° and 161° W. longitude, and 18°54′ and 22°2′ N. latitude. They have a total area of about 400,000 acres, population 57,985; Honolulu, in Oahu, is the capital, with a population of 15,000. Eight of the islands only are inhabited. At the time of Cook's visit each island had its

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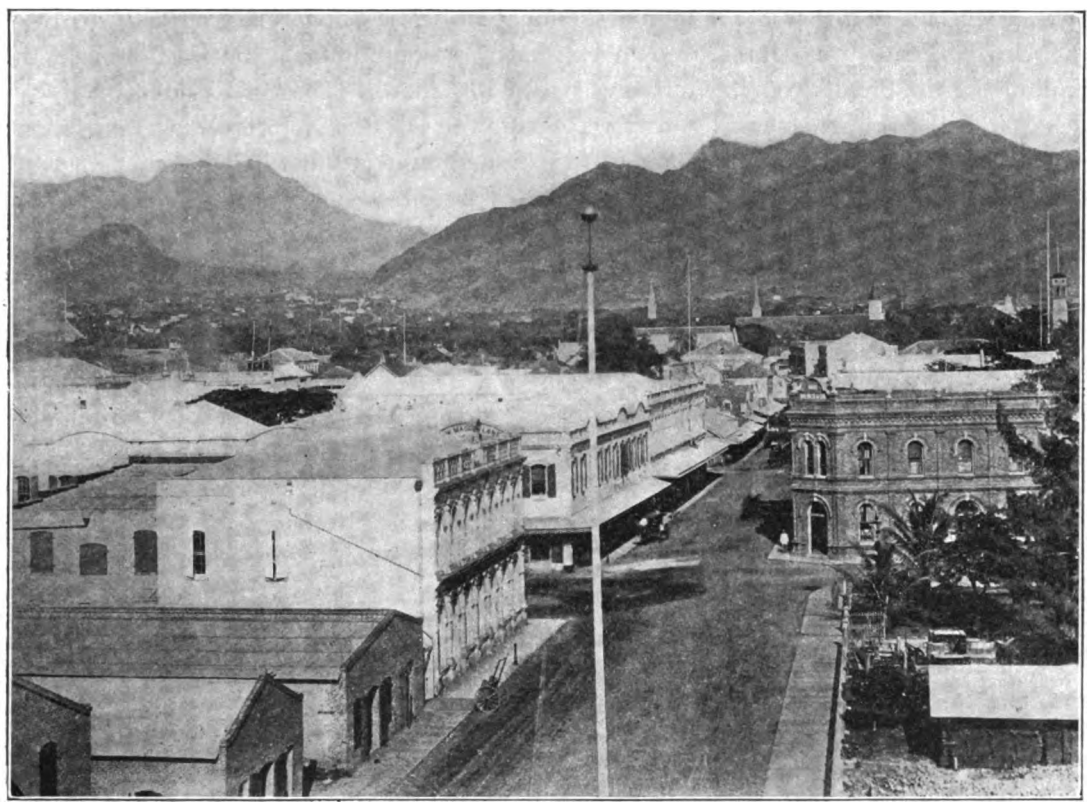
chief, and war between the rulers of the different kingdoms was of frequent occurrence until the powerful chief of Hawaii finally conquered all the islands, over which he ruled with great ability and wisdom for twenty-four years as Kamehameha I. He died in 1819. It was during his reign that the influence of the white race began to be felt, and which doubtless brought about the change from a feudal despotism to hereditary succession and a constitutional monarchy.

Kamehameha was succeeded by his son, who was a well-disposed prince but lacked his father's energy. One of his first acts was to abolish idolatry throughout the islands.



PRINCIPAL STREET IN HONOLULU.

This caused some disturbances, but the insurgents were soon overcome, and peace reigned thereafter almost uninterruptedly. American missionaries came to the islands in 1820 and began their work at Honolulu. Through their efforts, assisted by the English missionary, Rev. William Ellis, the Hawaiian language was reduced to a written form. This enabled the natives to advance more rapidly in intelligence and civilization, but their progress was often hindered by acts of British and French officers. These outrages were not upheld by their superiors, and in response to an appeal on the part of the native sovereign the governments of Great Britain, France, and the United States guaranteed the independence of the islands in 1842. A "Bill of Rights" was proclaimed, which was followed by the organization of an executive ministry, a judiciary

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department, and the adoption of provisions for a land tenure. A constitution was adopted in 1852 and a legislative body created. By subsequent amendments the suffrage of the people was restricted by a property qualification and the ability to read and write, and some other provisions regarding legislative procedure were made that remained in force until 1887.

Throughout the ninety-four years that the Kamehamehas reigned, American influence predominated. American laws and institutions were adopted, educational and commercial systems of the United States were followed as far as practicable, and the interests of the two countries were rapidly approaching a commercial and political coalescence. From 1842, when the independence of the islands was recognized, to 1865, the United States was represented in Hawaii by a Commissioner, but in that year the rank of the diplomatic representative was raised to that of Minister Resident.

While the Kamehameha dynasty was in power, American interests were safe, and political and commercial supremacy was easily maintained, but when it ended in 1874, the plots of foreign intriguers and agitators necessitated measures for defense and organization to avert disastrous revolution. Lunililo was elected king after the death of Kamehameha V., but after a year of turbulent reign was succeeded by David Kalakaua, who, after a bitter contest, was chosen by the legislature in opposition to Queen Emma, the widow of Kamehameha IV. She was radically pro-English, and actively hostile to the commercial interests of the United States. The election was followed by a formidable riot, and sailors from American vessels in the harbor were landed to quell it.

Kalakaua was in no way related to the extinct royal family, and was reputed to be of low birth. He had held some government positions, but had been discharged for corruption and incompetence. He was sensual, unscrupulous, superstitious, egotistical, and utterly unfit for his position. The progressive natives and respectable foreign element bore with remarkable patience his career of extravagance and corruption, but the situation at last became unendurable and a secret committee of safety was organized and quietly armed for decisive action. A mass-meeting was called on the 30th of June, 1887, which passed resolutions declaring that the Hawaiian Government had failed, through incompetence and corruption, to perform its legitimate functions and to afford protection to person and property. The King was waited upon and compelled to sign a new constitution, which was afterward ratified by a vote of the people. The King was deprived of many of his prerogatives and became but little more than a figurehead. It was soon evident that the monarchy was doomed, and that some new form of government must take its place in the near future. Princess Liliuokalani, sister of the King and heiress-apparent, had strongly disapproved of her brother's assent to the reform constitution. In 1889, with a half-caste named Wilcox, she concocted a plot for the overthrow of the new government and the establishment of herself on the throne. With some natives and a band of disreputable characters, Wilcox surrounded the palace and opened fire. The defenders soon put them to flight however, killed nine, and took the remainder prisoners. This uprising reawakened hopes in the King that he might regain his former position and despotic rule, but it was too late. In order to recruit his health

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he visited California, and died in the Palace Hotel in San Francisco on the 20th of January, 1891. Nine days after, on the arrival of his remains at Honolulu, his sister, Mrs. Dominis, was proclaimed Queen under the title of Liliuokalani and took the oath to support the Constitution. Subsequent events that led to the annexation of the islands are related elsewhere.

Like nearly all the islands of the Pacific Ocean, the Hawaiian group are of volcanic origin, with the usual characteristics of soil and contour. The islands are all very mountainous, with numerous active and extinct volcanoes. Kilauea on Hawaii is the largest active volcano in the world. It has a crater nine miles in circumference at the bottom of which is a sea of lurid flames and boiling lava. Mount Haleakala, a dormant volcano, on Maui, standing 10,000 feet above sea-level, has a crater from twenty-five to thirty miles in circumference. In many places along the coast line of the islands, the mountains rise abruptly from the sea, and there are but few inlets that afford good harbors, Pearl Harbor at Honolulu being the most important one. There are numerous mountain streams in some parts of the island, but there being no large water-sheds, there are no rivers of importance.

Though the islands are entirely in the tropics the climate is mild, tempered by the N. E. trade winds, blowing nine months of the year. The rainfall in the mountain region is quite abundant, but on the coast slopes rain seldom falls. The soil is very fertile, being formed by the disintegration of the volcanic rocks and decay of the vegetable matter. There is abundance of good pasturage, and cattle and sheep raising are important industries. The northeastern mountain slopes are covered with dense forests. Sugar cane, Indian corn, coffee, and wheat are cultivated on the plains. Tropical and semi-tropical fruits are grown to a small extent, and though the natural water supply is quite small, the ground, under artificial irrigation, may be made extremely productive. Sugar is the staple industry and is largely cultivated throughout the islands. It was cultivated in very small quantities before 1876, when a treaty of commercial reciprocity with the United States came into effect. Under the provisions of this treaty an era of unexpected prosperity set in, and the production of sugar, as well as rice, increased more than was ever anticipated. Large barren tracts of land were brought into cultivation by extensive irrigation, some of the ditches being 40 miles in length, carried through dense woods, tunneled through rocks, and spanning wide canyons. About 90,000 acres are taken up with various plantations, with a yearly yield of about 225,000 tons of sugar. It requires an average of eighteen months for a crop to mature, the ordinary yield being 3½ tons to the acre, yet on specially rich alluvial soil it is sometimes as great as nine tons to the acre.

GUAM.

Guam is the largest of the Marianna Islands, a group lying along the one hundred and forty-fifth meridian E. from Greenwich and between the thirteenth and twentieth parallels of latitude N. The island of Guam is thirty miles long north and south and has an average width of about six miles. The southern part of the island is high and mountainous, some of the hills reaching an altitude of 1300 ft. Earthquakes

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are common in the island, but seldom of such severity as to be alarming. The physical geography, natural resources, history, etc., relative to Guam are fully presented in the U. S. Government reports which have been freely quoted in this sketch.

The Marianna Islands were discovered by Magellan in 1520 during his expedition in the unexplored Pacific. As Magellan neared the shore of Guam, one of his ships was approached by a swarm of swift canoes manned by the brown natives. They were double-ended boats propelled by triangular sails of plaited mats, and moved through the water with great rapidity. The appearance of these canoes caused Magellan to give the newly discovered land the name "Islands of the Lateen Sails." The natives climbed over the sides of the ships, and began to appropriate every object they could lay their hands on, especially iron utensils, which they highly valued. This thieving propensity caused Magellan to change the name to the Ladrone Islands, an appellation which has clung to them among foreigners to this day, despite the fact that they received later a name authorized by the Spanish Government. The impudence and audacity of the natives were such that they were ordered to leave the ships. As soon as they got into their canoes, they discharged showers of lances and sling-stones until the Spaniards were forced to open fire in order to drive them off. In spite of this they managed to get away with one of the ship's boats and a party was sent to recover it. The landing party was met with volleys of stones and lances discharged from cover, and the Spaniards were obliged to kill several of the natives and burn their village before they retired. Then, with such fresh provisions as they were able to find, they re-embarked and set sail from the islands on the 9th of March.

In spite of this discouraging experience of this first visit, the situation of these islands and the facilities for obtaining fresh provisions were such that succeeding expeditions to the Philippines and Moluccas made them a stopping-place and began an intercourse with the inhabitants that in time grew more friendly and mutually profitable. In January, 1565, three ships under the command of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi took possession of the Mariannas in the name of the crown of Spain. They remained on the island of Guam only long enough to take on water and fresh vegetables.

In 1668 a missionary by the name of San Victores, with other missionaries and some soldiers, landed at Guam. Through the good offices of a man named Petro who had been wrecked with others on the island some years before, they found the natives friendly and hospitable. They began the work of converting and baptizing the natives, which progressed satisfactorily until the interference of a Chinaman named Choco, the only survivor of a wreck on the island twenty years prior to the advent of the Spaniards. He made the superstitious natives believe that the sacrament of baptism was a work of sorcery, and the water a subtle poison. The Fathers put an end to this difficulty by the simple method of converting and baptizing Choco himself, but the disaffection he had started spread to the northern islands and continued to cause opposition and bloody encounters.

During the next twelve or more years there were continued conflicts between the natives and the Spanish missionaries and officials, marked by cruelty and ferocity on

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Engraved by J B. Longacre from a Portrait by C W Peale.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

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both sides. The Spaniards exhibited here, as elsewhere, the tyrannical disposition and heartless oppression in dealing with conquered races that have made their name infamous in the history of civilized nations.

The introduction of Christian rites of marriage was made during this period. The first wedding was of a Spaniard and a native maiden. The event was another

AGAÑA, CAPITAL OF GUAM.

cause of trouble. The father of the bride objected to the marriage because thereby he lost the price of his daughter's chastity which, according to their customs, he would have sold before marriage to the bachelors. The priests tried in vain to appease him by offering more money than the unmarried men could afford to pay, and the dispute resulted in the murder of a Spaniard. The governor then ordered that the father of the bride be garroted, which so incensed the natives that a general insurrection followed, but it was finally quelled.

In 1680 Governor Quiroga arrived and discovered that many rebels had fled to Rota. Sending an expedition there he brought the fugitives back to Guam, and the leaders of the insurrection paid the penalty of their patriotism with their lives. Roads were then opened throughout the island to facilitate intercourse, and the country farmers were compelled to form villages in places convenient for the administration of

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the government. Churches were erected and all villages were assigned municipal officers. Everything ran smoothly for a time, but in February, 1681, the government house and church at Napsang were burned. The natives, fearing wholesale punishment, fled to Rota, followed by the Spaniards, burning houses and killing many of the refugees.

In 1681 Don Antonio Saravia became governor, and his short administration was marked by complete pacification of the island. Encouraged, he next attempted the subjugation of the northern islands, but on his way to carry out these plans he suffered exposure to a violent storm and died in November, 1683.

Don Damien de Esplana succeeded Saravia and pushed the work of conquest, visiting Tinian and Saypan, burning towns, killing those of the natives that offered opposition and building forts and churches. The insurrection in the north continued to spread, but the natives were finally driven to the mountains.

In June, 1690, a ship having on board a number of criminals bound for New Spain was wrecked on Cocos Island. These criminals plotted to kill the governor, officials and missionaries, and take possession of the island. A ship arrived unexpectedly from Manila, however, and they postponed their plans, when, one of their number having turned informant, the whole party was captured, and by order of Governor Esplana, twenty-three were executed. Governor Esplana died in August, 1694, and José de Quiroga succeeded him.

Quiroga immediately recommenced his old work of subjugating the northern islands, and began a campaign in Zarpana, Saypan, and Tinian, which culminated in a decisive battle on the little island of Aguiguan. All the rebels had gathered on this almost impregnable rock and for some time kept the Spaniards at bay. A bold assault finally resulted in its surrender on condition that the prisoners should return to Guam and become Christian subjects of the Spanish King. This battle occurred in 1695, and marked the final conquest of the islands. In that year General José Madrazo became governor, and his administration was without event, with the exception of a small expedition to quell some disturbances in the north in the year 1698.

From this time on the islands were in a peaceful state and the work of organizing a colonial government was carried on by the Spaniards. Little data bearing on the history of the islands since the conquest can be obtained beyond the dates of calamities, such as epidemics, typhoons, and earthquakes.

When the Spanish-American War broke out the United States cruiser *Charleston*, on its way to Manila, stopped at Guam, June 20, 1898, and opened fire on Agaña, the capital. The Spanish garrison, not having learned that war existed and supposing that the attack was a salute, sent an officer to the *Charleston* apologizing for not returning it, because they were short of ammunition. When they learned the state of affairs, the place was immediately surrendered. Captain Leary, of the United States navy, was appointed the first American governor, and under his direction important reforms were instituted. Slavery was abolished, and a breakwater and fortifications were put under construction at the harbor of St. Luis a Apra, preparatory to establishing a coaling station there. The population of Guam is about 10,000, area, 207 square miles.

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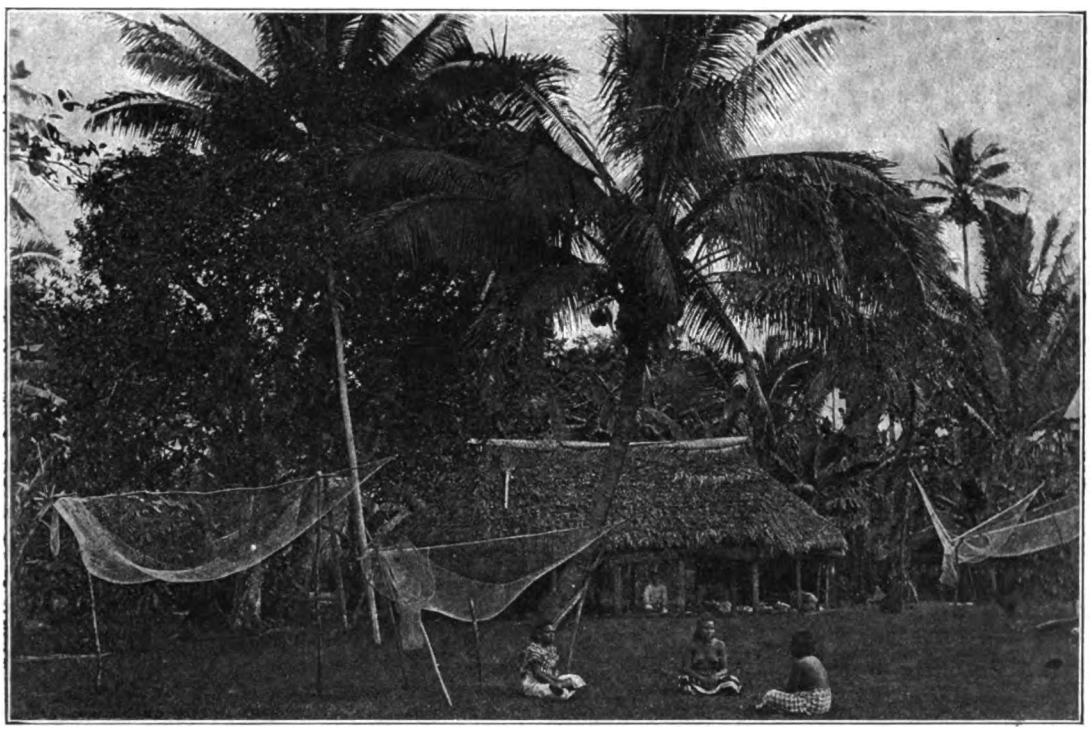
TUTUILA, OUR ISLAND IN SAMOA.

The Samoan group consists of three large islands, Savaii, Upolu, and Tutuila, and six smaller ones, Manuua, Oloosenga, Ofu, Manono, and Tau, having an aggregate area of about three thousand square miles and containing at present about forty thousand inhabitants. These islands are one of the central Polynesian groups, and about twenty-two hundred miles from Hawaii, in a southwesterly direction.

The Dutch navigator, Roggewein, visited these islands in 1722, but his account of this particular group is very meagre. Nothing definitely was known of them until they



NATIVE HOUSE, SAMOA.

were visited by some French navigators in the latter part of the eighteenth century. They named the group "Isles of the Navigators," on account of the remarkable skill exhibited by the natives in paddling their canoes. Savaii, the westernmost and largest of the group, is some forty miles long by twenty in width, with towering mountain peaks softened by a mantle of dense tropical foliage.

Next, to the eastward, ten miles distant, is Upolu, in some respects the most important of the group. It has an area of five hundred and sixty square miles, diversified by mountain peaks three thousand feet high, volcanic caverns, fertile plateaus, and valleys of exceeding beauty. The craters of these extinct volcanoes are now lakes of great depth and picturesque beauty.

The seat of government is Apia, a town of fifteen hundred inhabitants, situated on the bay of the same name, on the northwestern side of the island. The bay ex-

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tends from Matautu point on the east to Mulunuu on the west, two miles away. The entrance is protected by a coral reef and in ordinary weather affords safety to ships at anchor in the harbor.

Forty miles farther to the eastward lies our Tutuila, a mountainous island nearly a hundred miles in circumference and containing eight thousand inhabitants. The interior of the island is so rugged, and the jungle is so dense, that it is seldom explored by the natives, hence there are but few inland villages. On the south side of Tutuila is the entrance to the magnificent harbor of Pago-Pago. The natural beauty and grandeur of this bay are well known throughout all Polynesia. Being land-locked and bounded by mountains on one side and a perpendicular wall of solid rock fifteen hundred feet in height on another, it affords the safest refuge to ships of all sizes during the hurricane season. It was ceded to the United States by King Malietoa in the treaty of 1872, for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a coaling station for ships of war, and for a number of years past the United States naval vessels cruising in the South Seas have drawn their supply of coal from this place.

Sixty miles to the eastward of Tutuila is the Manuua group, comprising Oloosenga, Manuua, Ofu, and Tau. These islands are a part of Samoa, but the inhabitants live wholly independent of the others in every respect. It is from this group that the royal family of Samoa is supposed to have sprung. The inhabitants still retain many pagan customs and superstitions regarding their king, whom they do not allow to drink water, to bathe in the sea, or to walk from place to place.

The islands of Tutuila, Upolu, and Savaii bear a striking resemblance to one another. The mountain peaks are clothed in perpetual green, and all are surrounded by barrier reefs of coral, over which the breakers, never ceasing, dash into spray. The rivers are simply tortuous mountain streams, which at times of heavy rainfall become turbulent torrents, frequently uprooting and carrying away large forest trees. As they rush down to the sea, many cascades, falls, and cataracts of impressive beauty and grandeur are formed; one of the latter plunges over a precipice three hundred feet in height.

The cocoanut, bread-fruit, taro, and banana form the mainstay and daily food of the people. The cocoanut, however, is the most important commodity. The Samoan chiefs affirm that it was sent direct from heaven. Nothing is more refreshing when suffering with tropical heat than its cool and palatable milk, and its tender meat furnishes excellent food.

Although the Samoans have a written language, the old chiefs, who possess fertile imaginations, delight in recounting the wonderful deeds of valor of their ancestral chiefs and heroes, all of which traditions have been passed to the chief when a boy by word of mouth from his father, and he in turn passes them in the same way to his descendants.

In 1889 a conference between the representatives of the American, British, and German governments was held in Berlin, at which a treaty was signed by the three powers guaranteeing the neutrality of the islands, in which the citizens of the three

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CHAPTER XXIII.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION *(Concluded).*

THE year 1907 opened with the United States in a sounder financial and more prosperous condition apparently than ever known. There had been several years of unusual commercial and industrial expansion. Enterprises requiring enormous sums of money for development had been launched with comparatively little effort. Money was abundant and cheap. Credit in general was uncommonly elastic. Capital eagerly sought investment. Great railroad systems planned vast betterments. Our agricultural productions showed high-soaring records. And on the surface all indications pointed to a continuance of sound conditions.

But in October a crash came. Probably no two persons agreed on its cause. In view of pre-existing conditions, it was well likened to the proverbial thunderbolt out of a clear sky. Over-expansion, over-confidence, a widespread wave of railroad-rate legislation, investigations and prosecutions of numerous large corporations, threats of various actions by the National Government against trusts, and many other original or contributing causes were assigned. Optimism suddenly gave way to extreme pessimism; over-confidence to lack of confidence.

Naturally, the first effects of the panic were felt in New York City. Then the collapse of credit, the withdrawal and hoarding of money from the banks, the sharp curtailment of business operations, and the rigid grasp on active capital, spread outward. The West and South felt the crisis the least. During the next few months there was a shrinkage of over five billions of dollars in the market value of well-known securities.

The Presidential election in November, 1908, resulting in the choice of William H. Taft, caused a marked return of confidence and an improvement in many lines of industrial and commercial business; but a full or rapid recovery was checked by uncertainty of the outcome of the new tariff legislation, to which the Republican National platform and the candidate were pledged.

The organization in 1907 of a fleet of sixteen of the most powerful battleships, its dispatch on a practice cruise involving a voyage around the world, and the accomplishment of its mission within schedule time and without disaster of any kind, constituted the most remarkable event in the naval history of the world.

This fleet, "equally prepared for a fight or a frolic," as its commander-in-chief, Rear Admiral Robley D. Evans, said just before its departure, comprised the battleships "Connecticut" (flagship), "Kansas," "Vermont," "Louisiana," "Georgia," "New Jersey," "Rhode Island," "Virginia," "Minnesota," "Ohio," "Missouri," "Maine," "Alabama," "Illinois," "Kentucky," and "Kearsarge," with the armored cruisers "Tennessee" and "Washington," a small torpedo flotilla, two supply ships, a repair ship, and a tender. It sailed from Hampton Roads, Va., after being reviewed by President Roosevelt on Decem-

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ber 16, 1907, and returned to its starting point, where it was welcomed by the President, on February 22, 1909.

The cruise was divided into two parts. The first extended from Hampton Roads to San Francisco, with calls at Trinidad, Rio de Janeiro, Punta Arenas, Callao, and Magdalena Bay, off the coast of Lower California, where the entire fleet engaged in tactical maneuvers and had a large amount of record-breaking target practice with great guns. The second part extended from San Francisco, where Rear Admiral Evans was succeeded in chief command by Rear Admiral Charles S. Sperry, to Hampton Roads, with calls at Honolulu, Auckland, Sydney, Melbourne, Albany, Manila, Yokohama, Amoy, Singapore, Colombo, Suez, and Gibraltar. The entire cruise covered a little over 42,000 miles.

If all the invitations of foreign governments to visit their chief ports on the line of the voyage could have been accepted, the fleet would have spent several years in making the round of calls. At every stopping place, ships, officers, and men were welcomed with surpassing cordiality, and there never was an international event where hosts and guests were recipients of such abounding hospitality. The preparedness of the fleet for any emergency was shown on the homeward voyage, when Admiral Sperry rushed to Sicily, on hearing of the appalling earthquake which destroyed Messina, and with a goodly force rendered most timely and effective service in the work of rescue and succor.

For more than a year prior to the Presidential election of 1908 about everybody had made up his mind that William Howard Taft would receive the Republican nomination. Conjecture as to the choice of the Democratic party was divided between a conviction that William Jennings Bryan would again accept the nomination, if tendered, and a belief that the Democracy, fearing to risk a third defeat under his leadership, would pin its faith on another man. As the season of National conventions drew near five other parties entered the field: the Populists, Independence, Socialist, Socialist-Labor, and Prohibition. Of these the latter only was regarded as possessing any noteworthy strength, and that chiefly because of a widespread prohibition propaganda.

The platform of the Republican party, adopted at Chicago on June 18, 1908, declared in favor of an equality of opportunity for all; pledged a revision of the tariff immediately after the inauguration of the next President; approved the emergency measures adopted by the Government during the panic; pressed the need of a more elastic currency system; and favored the establishment of a postal savings bank system. It regarded the Sherman Anti-Trust law as a wholesome instrument for good, but pointed out that its effectiveness could be strengthened by amendments giving the Federal Government greater supervision over corporations having power and opportunity to effect monopolies. It expressed the belief that the rules of procedure in the Federal courts with respect to the issue of the writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by statute, and that no injunction or restraining order should be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay. For the army and navy a liberal support was asked. And it commended the "conspicuous contributions of American statesmanship to the great cause of international peace so signally advanced in The Hague conferences."

On this platform William H. Taft, of Ohio, was nominated for President, and James Schoolcraft Sherman, of New York, for Vice-President.

The platform of the Democratic party, adopted at Denver, on July 10, 1908, demanded

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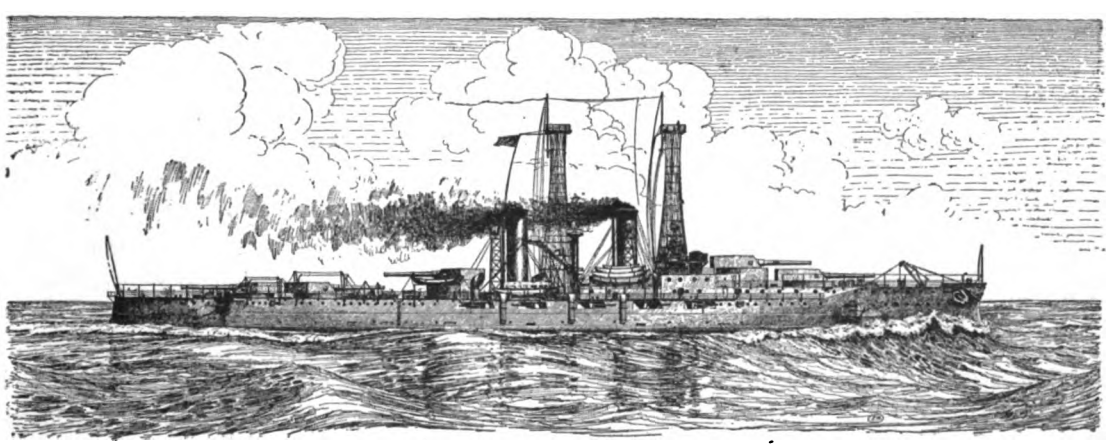
publicity of campaign contributions; pledged a law to prevent corporations from contributing to campaign funds; favored immediate revision of the tariff that would restore it to a purely revenue basis; called for legislation that would make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist; and favored an income tax. It pledged legislation under which National banks would be required to establish guarantee funds for the prompt payment of depositors in insolvent banks; urged a postal savings bank system if guaranteed banks could not be secured; and reiterated previous demands for a modification of the law relating to injunctions. Further, it favored the election of United States Senators by popular vote; insisted that independence should be given the Filipinos as soon as they have established a stable government; and opposed the admission of Asiatic immigrants.

On this platform William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, was nominated for President, and John Worth Kern, of Indiana, for Vice-President.

In the election on November 3, 1908, Mr. Taft received 7,637,676 popular votes; Mr. Bryan, 6,393,182; Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist, and next highest candidate, 448,453; and Eugene W. Chafin, the Prohibition candidate, 241,252. Mr. Taft had a popular plurality of 1,233,494. In the Electoral College he received 321 votes to 162 for Mr. Bryan, and was declared elected.

During the Roosevelt administration the army was increased from 3,200 officers and 68,000 enlisted men to 4,473 officers and 83,250 men, and the enlisted force of the navy from 20,000 petty officers and men to 44,500. Thirteen new battleships were added to our fighting force, the size of this type of ship was gradually increased from 14,000 tons' displacement to 26,000, and two ships of the latter size were authorised. Developments showing a great advance in our naval progress were the turbine as a motor for warships and the 14-inch gun for the main battery of battleships.

At the beginning of 1909 the fighting force of our navy comprised 25 first-class battleships, 11 coast defense vessels, 12 armored cruisers, 5 cruisers above 6,000 tons, 20 cruisers of 6,000 to 3,000 tons, 14 cruisers of 3,000 to 1,000 tons, 16 torpedo-boat de-



BATTLESHIP "FLORIDA" (NOW BUILDING)

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stroyers, 32 torpedo boats, and 12 submarines, and there were then under construction 4 first-class battleships, 15 torpedo-boat destroyers, and 7 submarines.

The last battleship launched (1908) was the "North Dakota," of 20,000 tons, then the largest and most powerful ship in the navy, and 2,000 tons larger in displacement than the famous British battleship "Dreadnaught." The last battleship "laid down," or begun (1909), was the "Florida," planned for a displacement of 21,825 tons, surpassing the two last British ships, the "Vanguard" and the "Sans Pareil," both of 19,250 tons, the last Japanese ship, of 19,800 tons, the last German, the "Oldenburg," of 18,600 tons, and the last Italian, of 19,000 tons.

In the period of 1901-1908 the individual gifts and bequests of our citizens for educational and philanthropic purposes, of $5,000 each and upward, omitting all contributions to religious bodies and special relief funds, amounted to more than one billion dollars. In 1907, the banner year, they reached a total of over $156,000,000, of which three persons gave a total of $71,000,000. Andrew Carnegie's known gifts footed up $12,488,500, the largest item, $6,000,000, being to the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh, making his total gifts to the Greater Pittsburgh $32,500,000. John D. Rockefeller gave a total in that year of $44,852,000, of which $32,000,000 was to the General Education Board, and his known total to the end of that year was $115,000,000. Mrs. Russell Sage gave $14,180,000 in the year, the largest item being $10,000,000 to the Sage Foundation for the improvement of social and living conditions throughout the country. In 1908 Mr. Carnegie added $5,000,000 to his $10,000,000 teachers' retirement fund; and Frederick Cooper Hewitt, of Oswego, N. Y., bequeathed over $7,500,000 to educational and charitable institutions; Benjamin Rae, of Cleveland, Ohio, left $5,000,000 to institutions for the aged and for deformed children; and George F. Parkman, of Boston, willed $5,000,000 to maintain the city parks and $500,000 to institutions.

The death roll of eminent citizens in the period of the Roosevelt administration was an unusually large one, and the one from early in 1905 (see Chapter XXI.) to the close of 1908 was notable for its inclusion of many well-known educators, clergymen, scientists, painters, military and naval officers, and men in public life. The most noteworthy death in the last period was that of Grover Cleveland, former President of the United States, which occurred at Princeton, N. J., on June 24, 1908. After his retirement from the Presidency the second time he made his home at Princeton, where for several years he delivered annual courses of lectures at the university, of which he was a trustee, and engaged in a large amount of literary work. In 1905, after the legislative investigation of life insurance affairs in New York, he was chosen one of three trustees to hold a majority of stock of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, and in June, 1907, on the organization of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, he was elected its chairman and counsel, and held this relation till his death. His death was the occasion of expressions of the highest esteem from people representing all shades of opinion and thought.

President Roosevelt's administration extended from September 14, 1901, to noon on March 4, 1909. During much of that time he was the most criticised man in the country. After a man has laid down the burdens of a high office or has died while holding one it usually requires years to enable one to form a just estimate of the influence of his service on the life of his time. But in the case of Mr. Roosevelt, he was so timely in urging needed reforms, and so abrupt and tenacious in bringing forward and pressing his public

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measures, that the effects of much that he did can be measured without waiting for the ripened judgment of time.

This is more true of him, perhaps, than of any of his predecessors. His official course developed a series of ideas that became popularly known as the "Roosevelt policies," and nearly all of them had an almost immediate effect. An additional vitality was given to them during the Presidential campaign of 1908, by the distinguished citizen who succeeded him as chief magistrate, in the frequent declaration that if elected he would endeavor to carry out those policies. You may here recall that Mr. Roosevelt, when suddenly summoned to succeed the lamented McKinley, made known his purpose to carry out the policies and reforms on which the latter had set his great heart.

President McKinley's policies were few, almost wholly national, and certainly free from exciting or alarming features. President Roosevelt, on the other hand, besides assuming President McKinley's unfinished work, laid out for himself an entirely new line, and, as a prime example of his own conception of the strenuous life, was constantly bringing out new policies, many of which both startled and alarmed the country.

To the question: What did President Roosevelt do? there were many who replied with the counter-question: What did he not do? And others, after weighing the effects of his most striking acts, were more or less divided on another question: Which did he most accomplish, good or harm? Let us here recall some of the things he really did, which were a part of his so-called policies.

Probably the leading feature of his entire administration was the great shaking up of the moral tone of the country through his constant preaching of civic right-doing and the measures he put into action for reforming official conditions that ignored the laws and made corruption in high places easy. He demanded a square deal and an equal opportunity for all. He pointed out instances of great wrong-doing and forced amends.

On this line we find investigations of the Northern Securities merger, of railroad-rate rebating, of Standard Oil discrimination, of the Beef and Sugar Trusts methods, of gross frauds in the Post-office Department, of illegal land deals in Oregon, of enormous thefts of the public domain elsewhere, of attempts to seize public waters for private gain, and of the appropriation by gigantic corporations of natural resources, especially those of timber and minerals.

It has been said of him that in his first term he incurred the wrath and aroused the fear of men whose practices he denounced, and that in his second term he scared and angered them in a ten-fold greater degree. Certain it is that as a result of his crusade, the people became more watchful of their rights and interests, and public officials became more alert in the enforcement of the laws.

This contest with evils in the national service was widely contagious. Evidences of greed, graft, extortion, and a deadening of the popular conscience were found in many States and large cities. Inspired by his example New York had its startling life-insurance investigation, Philadelphia, Chicago, Pittsburgh and San Francisco their exposures of municipal corruption, and Pennsylvania her uncovering of amazing frauds in connection with the new Capitol at Harrisburg.

It will be remembered that among many charges against President Roosevelt was an oft-repeated one that he sought legislation that would place all great corporations under

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the direct control of the National Government. Now, let us see just what he wanted and his reasons. Here are his own words: "Our aim is, so far as possible, to provide such conditions that there shall be equality of opportunity where there is equality of energy, fidelity, and intelligence. . . . The unchecked existence of monopoly is incompatible with equality of opportunity. The reason for the exercise of Government control over great monopolies is to equalize opportunity. We are fighting against privilege. It was made unlawful for corporations to contribute money for election expenses in order to abridge the power of special privilege at the polls. Railroad-rate control is an attempt to secure an equality of opportunity for all men affected by rail transportation, and that means all of us. The great anthracite coal strike was settled and the pressing danger of a coal famine averted because we recognized that the control of a public necessity involves a duty to the people, and that public intervention in the affairs of a public service corporation is neither to be resented as usurpation nor permitted as a privilege by the corporations, but, on the contrary, to be accepted as a duty and exercised as a right by the Government in the interest of all the people. . . . All the acts taken by the Government during the last seven years, and all the policies now being pursued by the Government, fit in as parts of a consistent whole."

He further declared that in the interest of the whole people the nation should, without interfering with the power of the States in the matter, itself also assume power of supervision and regulation over all corporations doing an interstate business.

We believe the second strongest feature of his administration was his effective work to settle trouble, national and international, by arbitration. In international affairs he issued the preliminary invitation to the Great Powers to the Second Peace Conference held at The Hague in 1907. He induced Great Britain, Germany, and Italy to join the United States in sending their claims against Venezuela to the International Court of Arbitration. He obtained agreements with Great Britain to submit the Alaskan boundary and Newfoundland fisheries disputes to arbitration. He persuaded the Central American republics to stop fighting and plotting against each other and to lay their grievances before the same authority. And, above all, by delicate negotiation with Russia and Japan, he obtained their consent to a peace conference, which was held at Portsmouth, N. H., and resulted in the ending of the war. Mr. Taft, in his Presidential campaign, frequently said that Theodore Roosevelt had done more to promote the peace of the world than any other man in the history of nations.

The President's service in bringing the Russo-Japanese war to an end in 1905 was signally honored in the following year when the Nobel prize of $40,000 for "the person who has worked most or best for the fraternization of nations, the abolition or reduction of standing armies, and the calling and propagating of peace congresses," was awarded to him. On its receipt he appointed a commission to organize the Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace, which was subsequently chartered by Congress. The commission appointed a permanent industrial peace committee to work for "a better understanding between employers and employés," and received from the President the entire prize money for the nucleus of a maintenance fund.

Do you recall Washington's warning that we should beware of foreign entanglements? Well, circumstances beyond our control forced us in recent years to make a sharp departure

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from the policy he had in mind. When the late John Hay was Secretary of State, events in the Far East caused him to notify the world that as a nation we were committed to an "open-door" commercial policy toward China. Since that time we have acquired vaster commercial and very large political interests in that region. We took part in the conferences to settle the difficulties between Germany and France growing out of a clash of interests in Morocco. With Venezuela we had a curious relation. Under President Cleveland we undertook to shield her from serious trouble with Great Britain only to have her later turn against us, seize property and violate pledged rights of our citizens doing business there, and refuse all requests for arbitration. Although this relation became almost intolerable, we refrained from harsh measures, and merely called off our minister and consuls till President Castro fled the country and a new Government was installed.

We withdrew from Cuba after we had given her freedom and self-government, but in 1906 we had to go down there a second time, save the young republic from internal troubles, and start it going again under a more stable Government. This done, we again withdrew (1909). In 1906 we convened a conference of all American republics. Greatly increased cordiality between us and our South American cousins was brought about in 1907 by a visit of Elihu Root, then Secretary of State and later one of the United States Senators from New York, to the capital of each republic. When Santo Domingo found herself almost hopelessly in debt to foreign nations, it fell to our lot to take charge of her revenues and to pay her creditors.

In all these cases our course was wholly friendly and for the best interest of all parties concerned. But our part in the creation of the republic of Panama in 1903 was widely criticised abroad, and severely condemned at home, as an act of political highway robbery toward a smaller and weaker neighbor to secure a material advantage in the building of the canal not otherwise readily obtained.

In the line of National legislation during those stirring seven years there was much that was needed and beneficial. First, there was the railroad-rate law, the purpose of which we have given in the President's own words, and which, after a trial, was believed by some authorities to have a retarding effect on the development of our great systems, and hailed by others as a means for the surer and swifter correction of wrongs that might be discovered in the future. Then we had a pure food and drug law of inestimable value; a rigid meat-inspection law; laws for the regulation of child labor in the District of Columbia, framed to be a model for adoption by the States; a law to protect wage-earners in various occupations from bodily injury; a model employers' liability law, in the District of Columbia; a law for the issue of currency by National banks in periods of financial distress to the amount of $500,000,000; and laws for the conservation of our forests and other natural resources, and for the extension of our reclamation or irrigation service, which has already added a vast acreage to our farm lands.

We admitted Oklahoma and Indian Territory into the Union as the State of Oklahoma (November 16, 1907); redeemed our promise to give the Filipinos a representative assembly (1907); remitted some $10,800,000 of the Chinese "Boxer" indemnity, which the Chinese Government planned to spend on the education of about 2,000 of their youth in our colleges and technical schools; raised the salary of the President from $50,000 to $75,000 per annum, but without a traveling allowance; gave $800,000 for the relief of sufferers

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by the earthquake in Calabria and Sicily (December 28, 1908); took an effective part in the Second Peace Conference at The Hague (1907); and negotiated a large number of treaties for various purposes.

We have thus pointed out some of the most important events at home and abroad during President Roosevelt's seven-year administration. Any man occupying an exalted public office is bound to make enemies through his inability to please everybody, and somebody is sure to be hurt in some way by the execution of laws. With his naturally fiery temperament, his intense earnestness, his sterling honesty, his nervous energy in forcing to an issue the reform measures he believed to be needed and practicable, Mr. Roosevelt drew upon himself a manifold share of censure. Though prolific in explanations of his purposes and measures, he was undoubtedly misunderstood concerning many of them, and all sorts of harmful influences, even to being the chief cause of the panic, were charged against him.

Probably the bitterest criticism of the personal part of his administration was the following, from one of the best-known independent newspapers in the country:

"Mr. Roosevelt stands in unenviable isolation as the President who has been most abusive of his fellow-citizens. He has called men liars, many men, even Committees of Congress; he has compiled lists of undesirable citizens, he has denounced many malefactors of great wealth with such want of specification and discrimination that the people . . . have come to believe that pretty much everybody with a fortune in excess of the value of a decent farm is a criminal. . . . The resultant is a deluge of utterance; innumerable projects of reform, crude and not thought out; a progressive propensity to meddle with every human interest, from the regulation of corporations to the size of the family and butter-making; an over-mastering desire to uplift eighty millions of people by the hair; and a ferocious interpretation of all who dissent from his views, criticise his methods, or oppose his purposes."

A more complimentary view, also from an independent source, was the following:

"There are two reasons why, during these seven years of a turbulent and noisy administration, the country has been perfectly safe. The first is that, should our institutions be visibly imperiled, we have remedies at hand, and we know how to apply them. The second is that Mr. Roosevelt's intentions have been good, sound, and wholesome . . . in those fields of reform and betterment where he was peculiarly competent to recommend action and to lead the way he has spoken and acted with consummate wisdom. . . . We should have been spared many alarms and much injury had his temperament permitted him upon all subjects to speak with the temperance and sagacity that have guided his tongue and pace in what he has had to say or write on the husbanding of nature's favors. For his own reputation and for us, we must feel an infinite regret that . . . in his surgery of our deformities he was not more careful of the extent of the lacerations."

And one of his stanchest supporters, measuring up his various purposes, policies, and accomplishments, thus briefly set forth the result:

"No President has lived to see so many of his policies well on the road to achievement."

Here we leave him to a well-earned respite from the cares and responsibilities, the praise and censure, of public life, and to the enjoyment of an eighteen-months' big game hunting trip to Africa which he had long before promised himself.

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signatory powers would have equal rights of residence, trade, and personal protection. By treaty of 1899 the islands were divided between the United States and Germany, the United States getting the important island Tutuila, and the lesser islands of Ofu and Tau. Pago-Pago is the seat of American government for the islands.

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SUPPLEMENTARY.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

OUR LAWS AND HOW THEY ARE MADE.

The Preamble of the Federal Constitution reads as follows:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, and secure the blessings of liberty to our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The expression, "We, the people," asserts the fundamental principle of the Constitution, which is, that the source of power is, as Webster declared, "entirely with the people and rests on no other foundation than their assent"—a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

It has been stated that the Constitution of the United States is a modified version of the English Constitution as it existed in 1787, although Mr. Gladstone said "that it is the greatest work ever struck off at any one time by the mind and purpose of man." Putting aside these extreme views it may be said that it was the outgrowth of the knowledge and experience that the people had gained in their relations with England, their own State and colonial governments, and the Confederacy of 1781. Centuries of struggle against oppression and arbitrary government had developed in the minds of the people the principle that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." The individual is the factor to be considered in organizing successful government, and this idea controlled those who perfected the working features of the Constitution and made it possible to establish a permanent Union. That an instrument prepared for the guidance and the perpetuity of a new-born nation should have proven so subservient to the popular will, and endured through all the subsequent vicissitudes incident to rapid expansion and contending factions, attests the wisdom of the master minds who conceived and perfected it.

The Government is divided into three branches—the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. All Legislative powers are vested in a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Representation in the Senate is equal, each State having two Senators. In the House the States are represented according to their respective populations, as ascertained by each decennial census. Thus, in the Senate, the State of New York, with a population in 1905 of 8,067,308, has the same number of Senators as Nevada, with a population of 42,335; while in the House, New York has 34 Representatives, and Nevada 1. The present House, whose term began March 4, 1905, is composed of 386 members.

Representatives are chosen every second year by vote of the people in their respective districts. Members of the Senate are chosen by the Legislatures of the States for the term of six years. The qualifications for a Representative, are, that

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he shall have attained the age of 25 years, and have been seven years a citizen of the United States. A Senator must be not less than 30 years of age, and nine years a citizen of the United States. Each shall also when elected be an inhabitant of that State in or for which he shall be chosen.

After each census, Congress determines the number of members of which the House is to consist for the next ten years, and apportions the Representatives among the several States; this allotment being made, each State Legislature divides the State into districts. If a State's representation is increased by a reapportionment, the additional Representatives are chosen by vote of the whole State, until the State is redistricted. They are called *Congressmen-at-Large.*

When a vacancy occurs in the representation from any State, the Governor issues a writ for a special election, the people alone having power to choose members of the House.

The roll of the House of Representatives is made up by the Clerk of the previous House, who presides over the new body at its first meeting until the election of Speaker, and who puts all motions that can properly be made before the Speaker is chosen. The Speaker is the presiding officer of the House. He is elected at the beginning of each Congress, and holds his office during the two years of its existence. His salary is $8,000 a year. The other officers of the House are a Clerk, Sergeant-at-arms, Doorkeeper, Postmaster, and Chaplain.

The Senators are divided into three classes, one-third of the body being chosen every two years. A vacancy occurring during the recess of the Legislature of a State may be filled temporarily by the Governor until the next meeting of the Legislature. The Senate has recently decided that in the event of the failure of a Legislature to elect a Senator when it had the opportunity to do so, the Governor may not appoint. The division into three classes was made by the first Senate, and when a new State is admitted into the Union, the two Senators first chosen draw lots to determine the class.

The House, being composed of members elected by the people every two years, is theoretically *new* at each session of Congress and reflects the popular mind. This is not true of the Senate, however. This body is never new, as only one-third of its members are changed at one time. It is not therefore greatly affected by changes in public sentiment. The two houses of Congress are similar in character to the two houses of the English Parliament: the one active, progressive, reflecting and representing the current political thought; the other, calm, conservative, and deliberate; the one, fresh from the ranks of the people and full of popular spirit and legislative schemes; the other, a check and safety brake upon unwise or hasty legislation.

The presiding officer of the Senate is the Vice-President. He has no vote unless the Senate is equally divided. The Speaker, however, is a member of the body over which he presides, and has a vote on all questions, if he chooses to vote, besides having the casting vote on a tie. The Senate also chooses a President *pro tempore*, a Secretary, and the other usual officers. The President *pro tempore* presides over the Senate when the Vice-President is acting as President, or is absent beyond an adjournment.

The Senate has executive and judicial functions which do not belong to the House

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of Representatives. It is the court presided over by the Chief Justice for the trial of impeachment cases. It passes upon the President's nominations to the principal offices and upon treaties between the United States and foreign powers. Two-thirds of the Senators must concur to ratify a treaty. The House of Representatives has the sole power of impeachment. It prefers the charges and appoints the managers, or counsel, to represent it before the Senate sitting as a court.

The duty of prescribing the times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives is left to the Legislatures of the different States, but Congress may make laws itself concerning these matters except as to the places of choosing Senators. The Senators are the Representatives of the States as political organisms, and consequently the Federal Constitution limited the power of Congress over the Senators.

Each house determines for itself whether persons have been properly elected, and possess the requisite qualifications.

A majority is a quorum in each body, and both the House and the Senate have the power to compel the attendance of members, to punish them for disorderly behavior, and to make rules of procedure. Two-thirds of each house may expel a member. Congress must meet at least once a year on the first Monday in December, unless it appoints another day by law.

For the more complete accomplishment of the independence of the Legislative and Executive branches of the government, it is provided in the Constitution that members of the Senate and House of Representatives may not be appointed to any civil office which has been created, or the emolument of which has been increased, during their terms of service. After their terms have expired, they are eligible to any public employment; but so jealously has the independence of the two branches of the Government been guarded, that the propriety of appointing an ex-Congressman to a civil office created or made more profitable during his term, immediately after his return to private life, has been questioned. The Constitution also forbids any one holding office under the United States to be a member of Congress.

The Congress enacts the laws under and in obedience to the Constitution. Whatever may be the Constitutional theories prevailing in the legislative branch of the government, the framers of the statutes of the United States must rest their work upon the fundamental law adopted by the people. In making a law by Congress the procedure is substantially as follows: Any member of either House wishing to introduce a bill presents it to the Clerk indorsed with its title and the name of the member introducing it. The Clerk gives it a number and when the proper order of business is reached it is read for the first time. It is then handed to the Speaker, and the House then decides whether it shall be read a second time. If so decided it goes back to the Clerk for a second reading, after which it is referred to the appropriate committee which is indicated by the subject of the bill.

The custom of referring all bills to proper committees for consideration greatly facilitates legislation and prevents many useless measures from being reported for action. That is, they are "killed in committee." If the committee decides to report

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it after examination, it is then considered in what is called "A Committee of the Whole" for the purpose of discussion and amendments if any. It is then read a third time and brought to a vote, and if passed, signed by the Speaker, and attested by the Clerk with date of its passage.

The leading committee of the House of Representatives is the "Ways and Means Committee." It considers all bills relating to the raising of revenue. The chairman, by reason of his position, has generally been considered the leader of his party on the floor of the House, but latterly this custom is often disregarded.

Other committees of the House and Senate are Foreign Affairs, Judiciary, Military, Navy, Banking and Currency, Appropriations, Postal Affairs, Territories, Foreign Relations, and many others.

An important feature in regard to the introduction of bills should be noted. The House of Representatives only can originate bills relating to money measures or revenue. The Senate has power to modify only by amendment when a bill of this nature reaches it for action.

When a bill has passed both Houses of Congress, it is presented to the President. If he signs it, or fails to return it within ten days, the bill becomes a law. If Congress adjourns before the expiration of ten days, the bill fails to become a law.

If the President objects to a bill he must return it to the House in which it originated, with his objection in writing. If the two Houses again pass the measure each by a two-thirds vote, the bill becomes a law notwithstanding the President's objection. Every measure requiring the concurrence of the two Houses must be thus presented to the President.

The powers of Congress are such as the framers of the Constitution deemed to be essential for the welfare of the whole country, for the maintenance of the Union, and the preservation of the harmonious relations of the states. The Federal Government was also made the representative of the state in dealings between this country and foreign powers and was therefore given exclusive jurisdiction over commerce, diplomacy, and war. It is also the representative of the states, in their dealings with one another, and so its jurisdiction extends over commerce between the several states and with the Indian tribes. Many of the powers necessary to enable the Government to perform these great functions are enumerated in the Constitution.

Congress has the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for the purpose of providing funds for the payment of debts, and for the common defense and general welfare of the United States. Whatever burdens of this character it imposes, however, must rest equally upon the people. Congress may also borrow money, and it alone may coin money and regulate its value. Its power to support armies is limited by a provision of the Constitution that no appropriation of money for this use shall be for a longer term than two years.

Congress establishes the laws under which foreign-born people may become citizens of the United States. For the furtherance and security of trade and commerce between the several states it not only enacts the coinage laws but provides penalties for counterfeiting. Congress may also authorize the issue of paper currency. It also establishes

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post-offices and post roads and has lately undertaken to regulate the business of transporting goods and passengers through the several states. All laws relating to commerce, as to every other subject within the Federal jurisdiction, must be uniform in their application to the states. As a general proposition, it may be said that Congress deals with the state as the state deals with the individual citizen. Therefore all the states stand on a common footing under the Federal laws.

Congress is directed by the Constitution to enact copyright and patent laws. For administering justice under the Federal laws, Congress may establish tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court, which is established by the Constitution itself. The Senate confirms the appointment of ambassadors, ministers, secretaries of legations, and consular officers, and ratifies treaties. Congress enacts laws governing immigration, and may enact a general bankrupt law. It also enacts laws for the definition and punishment of piracies, felonies on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations.

The war jurisdiction of the Federal Government is as extensive as it is essential. The only limitation upon the power of Congress to raise and maintain armed forces on the land and sea has already been mentioned. Besides providing for the regular forces of the United States, it may also make provisions for calling the state militia to the aid of the General Government for the suppression of insurrection and the repelling of invasions. If the public safety shall require it in case of rebellion or invasion Congress may suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Treason against the United States is defined by the Constitution to "consist only in levying war against them or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." The Constitution further requires for conviction the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or a confession. But Congress is empowered to declare what shall be the punishment for the crime. Such punishment, however, must be inflicted on the guilty person alone.

These are the powers which the states have conferred upon Congress. Some laws are enacted by the Federal authority which control and govern the citizens who reside within the territories or in the reservations owned by the General Government, with the exception of certain restrictions imposed by the first amendments to the Constitution, which were in the nature of a bill of rights. Congress is left to its discretion in making laws for the people of the District of Columbia, of the territories, and of the lands which have been ceded by the states to the General Government for the purpose of navy yards and forts, and for the building of necessary structures for the business of the Government, and for the maintenance of the military and naval academies.

Congress is forbidden to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. It may not abridge the freedom of speech or the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances. The people reserved the right to bear arms. Soldiers may not be quartered in any house except in time of war, and then in pursuance of established laws. The right of the people to freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures, and from arrest without proper warrants, is affirmed. No one can be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime without presentment or indictment, and no one may be

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deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb. Excessive bail shall not be required, excessive fines imposed, or cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. The right of trial by jury is preserved. Private property may not be taken by public use without just compensation.

The powers of Congress over suffrage are granted by the amendments adopted after the close of the Civil War. They are known as the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The Thirteenth Amendment prohibits slavery within the United States. The Fourteenth Amendment makes every native or naturalized person in the United States a citizen and declares that all shall have the equal protection of the laws. It provides that Representatives in Congress shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, including Indians not taxed. If a state denies or abridges the right of suffrage to any male citizen who is twenty-one years of age, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation of that state shall be proportionately reduced. This amendment should seem to leave to each state the option of choosing between a limited suffrage with full representation; but the Fifteenth Amendment provides that the right of suffrage shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Except these there are no restrictions over the control by the states of the qualifications of voters. The matter so far is entirely regulated by the state law, the Federal Constitution providing that in each state the electors for Representatives in Congress shall have the qualifications requisite for the electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

The executive power is lodged in the President. A Vice-President is chosen with him, and the term of office for both is four years. There is no prohibition of re-election, and eight out of nineteen Presidents have been chosen for a second term. No President has been chosen for a third term, and the unwritten law against a third term is so strong that it is not likely that it will ever be infringed.

The President and Vice-President are not chosen by a direct vote of the people. It was the intention of the framers of the Constitution that a board of electors should be chosen who should meet and elect a President and Vice-President. The person receiving the highest number of votes was to be President and the person receiving the next highest number should be Vice-President. This machinery for the election of President and Vice-President still exists. But its purpose was defeated at the beginning of the Government. After the expiration of Washington's second term the political parties named their candidates and the electors became mere instruments for recording the will of the party by which they were chosen. At first the candidates were agreed upon by the Congressmen of the different parties in caucus, but now they are selected by national conventions of delegates chosen by each party in the several states in proportion to the congressional representation of each state. The voters really cast their ballots for these candidates, although formally they vote for the electors Theoretically these electors may choose any one for President or Vice-President, but no elector would think of voting against the candidate of his party.

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The provisions are that each state shall appoint in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and the person voted for as Vice-President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be President, if such number be the majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then from the persons having the highest number not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by states, the representation of each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and the majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them before the 4th day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and the majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

No person is eligible to the office of either President or Vice-President unless he is a native-born citizen of the United States, thirty-five years old, and for fourteen years a resident of the country. The Vice-President succeeds the President in case of his removal from office, or his death, resignation, or inability to discharge his duties. Congress is authorized to provide for the succession in case both the President and Vice-President die, resign, are removed, or are otherwise disqualified. For many years the succession went first to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and then to the Speaker of the House. A law was passed in 1886 providing for the succession for the members of the Cabinet as follows: first, the Secretary of State; second, the Secretary of the Treasury; third, the Secretary of War; fourth, the Attorney-General; fifth, the Postmaster-General; sixth, the Secretary of the Navy; seventh, the Secretary of the Interior.

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The President executes the laws enacted by Congress. He is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He may grant pardons and reprieves except in case of impeachment. He appoints the executive, administrative, diplomatic, consular, and judicial officers of the Government with the advice and consent of the Senate, except where Congress has empowered him, or the courts, or the heads of departments, to appoint inferior officers without the confirmation of the Senate. When a vacancy occurs during the recess the President may fill it, but the commission, unless ratified by the Senate, will expire at the end of the next session of Congress. He may make treaties, but before a treaty becomes binding as a supreme law of the land it must be ratified by the consent of two-thirds of the Senators who are present.

He is commanded by the Constitution to give to Congress information concerning the state of the Union and to recommend to it measures for legislation. He does this in an annual message, sent to Congress at the beginning of its session on the first Monday of December. He may also convene Congress in extraordinary session, and if the two Houses disagree as to the time of adjournment he may adjourn them to such time as he may think proper.

His salary is $50,000 a year. The salary of the Vice-President and of each cabinet officer is $8,000 per year. All officers of the United States may be removed by impeachment for, and conviction of high crimes and misdemeanors. The judgment of the court of impeachment is simply removal and disqualification of holding office. The guilty party may be subsequently indicted.

The Judicial power of the United States is vested by the Constitution in the Supreme Court and in certain inferior courts which have been established by Congress under the authority of the Constitution. The United States courts have jurisdiction over Federal questions and over all causes arising under international and maritime law, and in which the representatives of foreign governments are involved; also of causes involving controversies between states, between citizens of different states, or between the state and citizens of another state, except that a state cannot be sued for citizens of another state, or by the citizens of a foreign country. No individual can bring suit against a state except in its own courts. The United States Government, as the representative of each state in its relation to foreign countries, is responsible and must answer in an international controversy for the conduct of the state, but it has no power to compel the state, either through its Executive or Judicial departments, to take such action as will remove the cause of contention to repair an injury that may have been done to foreign countries or their citizens by the state itself, or by its citizens.

The Supreme Court consists of a chief justice and eight associate justices. The Supreme Court has original jurisdiction in causes affecting the diplomatic and consular representatives of foreign power, and in those in which the state is a party. Besides appeals from the decisions of the inferior Federal Court the Supreme Court hears appeals from the state courts when the constitutionality of a Federal law is denied by the state tribunal, or where the validity of a state law under the Federal Constitution being denied by one of the parties to litigation is affirmed by the state court. In

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every such instance the appeal to the Federal Court must be from the judgment of the highest state court.

The Federal Government is also the protector of the integrity of the states. It is bound to defend them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or their Executive when their Legislature cannot be assembled, even against domestic violence. It guarantees to each state a republican form of government. The states, having granted to the Federal Government all the powers possessed by it, reserved all other powers to themselves. The restrictions upon the states are few. The people are governed by their laws. Comparatively few citizens come into personal relation with the Federal Government. They vote for presidential electors and for Representatives as they do for state officers, but the authorities with whom they deal directly are those of their townships or municipalities. While they are interested in the acts of Congress, Federal taxation is not directly levied by the United States officers except on a small minority of the people who are engaged in certain kinds of business. The direct taxes that are paid by citizens are those of the state.

The states may have no relations with the foreign powers. They may not make a treaty or an alliance without the consent of Congress, or engage in war except as their militia serves under the call and command of the President of the United States or unless they are invaded or in imminent danger. They may not coin money, make bills of credit, or declare anything of gold and silver legal tender in payment of debts. They may not lay duties on imports or exports except for executing their inspection laws. They may not pass bills of attainder, or *ex post facto* laws or laws impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility. Without the consent of Congress they may not lay any duty on tonnage or keep troops and ships of war in time of peace. All these powers and rights belong naturally to the General Government, and it was the intention to limit the states to the care of their domestic affairs while the Federal Government should have jurisdiction over foreign relations and the general welfare of all the states and the people thereof as they were united under the Constitution. Laws and treaties made in pursuance of the Constitution are the supreme law, and the judges of the state court are bound thereby.

New states may be admitted by Congress. There are now (1906) forty-five states, thirty-two of which have been admitted from the territory ceded by the states at the beginning of the Government or that obtained through the Louisiana Purchase, that of East and West Florida, or that gained in the war against Mexico.

The Constitution may be amended. Amendments may be proposed by Congress, two-thirds of each House voting in favor of them, or a convention may be authorized by Congress on application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the states.

Three-fourths of the state Legislatures, or conventions in three-fourths of the states, as Congress may direct, shall ratify the amendments before they can become part of the fundamental law of the land. The Constitution provides that it may not be so amended that any state shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate.

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BIRTHDAYS OF THE STATES.

DELAWARE.

Delaware ratified the Constitution of the United States December 7, 1787, the first of the original thirteen states to take this action. The Dutch and the Swedes made early settlements in the state, but were in constant friction with the English, their common enemy. In 1673 the Dutch repossessed the country, but in 1682 it became part of the province of Pennsylvania, In 1703 the Delaware people established a separate legislature under the Pennsylvania governor and continued this relation until the Revolution. The state then became independent and adopted a constitution. Although a slave-holding state, it remained loyal to the Union cause and furnished its full quota of troops for the war.

Area, 2,050 square miles; population (1905), 192,855; capital, Dover

PENNSYLVANIA.

The second state to ratify the United States Constitution was Pennsylvania, on December 12, 1787. It was named after its founder, William Penn, the son of an English admiral. Penn had obtained from the King in 1681 a grant of 40,000 square miles of land in America designated by the king as Pennsylvania, or Penn's Woods. In 1682 Penn came to America, established a colony, and organized a government. He died in 1718, leaving the government in the hands of deputies while his own family retained ownership of the land. The governor of the colony represented the crown as well as the proprietors, and the assembly chosen by popular vote, having, in accordance with the charter, almost the entire power in its hands, represented to a large extent opposing interests, which caused constant friction between the authorities. The critical condition of the western part of the state in the French and Indian wars, brought about a temporary suspension of the quarrels within the colony, and the assembly, under the lead of Benjamin Franklin, united with the governor in active measures for the defence of the frontier, resulting in the capture of Fort Duquesne where Pittsburg now is, and for the establishment of peace with the Indians.

Philadelphia was the meeting place of the first Congress, and it was in Independence Hall of that place that the Declaration of Independence was made and signed. During the winter of 1778–79 the British held possession of the city, and it was during this period that Washington and his army passed through the terrible experience at Valley Forge.

Area, 44,985 square miles; population (1905), 6,824,115; capital, Harrisburg.

NEW JERSEY.

New Jersey was settled by the Dutch in 1615, who maintained possession until 1664, when it was colonized by the English under a grant by the Duke of York. The territory included in the tract was divided between Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, who named it New Jersey after the island of Jersey, where he had previously been

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governor. In 1702 New Jersey became a royal province in connection with New York. The colony was separated in 1738, and New Jersey continued a separate government to the time of the Revolution. The state ratified the Federal Constitution December 18, 1787.

Area, 8,224 square miles; population (1905), 2,144,143; capital, Trenton.

GEORGIA.

Georgia was settled in 1733 by a colony under a charter granted to James Oglethorpe. The colony first consisted of 35 families, and settled on the site of the present city of Savannah. Oglethorpe returned to England in 1734, but came back the next year with a large addition to the colony, including Charles and John Wesley and George Whitefield. Oglethorpe continued in command of the colony until 1742. He made an alliance with the Creek Indians and combined forces of Carolina and Georgia troops invaded Florida and drove out the Spanish fleet that had attacked the fort on the Altamaha, thereby saving the province to the Crown.

Georgia ratified the Federal Constitution January 2, 1788. The state had much trouble with the Creek and Cherokee Indians, and in the attempt to drive them out of the territory came into collision with the general government, but the difficulties were finally settled by the removal of the Indians under a treaty in 1838. The state passed an ordinance of secession January 19, 1861, and was readmitted into the Union June 24, 1868. The principal products of Georgia are rice, cotton, corn, and wheat. In recent years many large manufacturing industries have been established.

Area, 59,475 square miles; population (1905), 2,405,321; capital, Atlanta.

CONNECTICUT.

Connecticut was the first colony in America which had a written constitution. The first settlement in the state was made in 1634 by residents of the vicinity of Boston, Massachusetts. Another settlement was made in 1638 at New Haven by a company arriving from England, small in number but whose leaders were persons of wealth and education. John Winthrop, who came from England in 1635 with a commission from those to whom the original land of Connecticut had been granted, was elected governor of the colony in 1657 and continued as governor for nearly 20 years. In 1662 he visited England without the knowledge of the people of New Haven, and obtained a charter by which all the territory frem the Narragansett Bay to the Pacific was given to the Connecticut colony. New Haven opposed this action, but was finally absorbed. The charter held by the colony was so satisfactory that it was continued as the constitution of the state after the colonial government ceased, and it was not till 1818 that the present constitution was framed. Jonathan Trumbull, the governor of Connecticut, was, during the war of independence, one of the most efficient governors and acquired the sobriquet of "Brother Jonathan." The tract of land extending to the Pacific Ocean to which Connecticut claimed ownership under the charter was ceded to the Union, retaining certain lands in New York and Ohio. The proceeds of the sale of these lands were appropriated to the maintenance of common schools. The colonists

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JUSTICE HOLMES. JUSTICE PECKHAM JUSTICE MCKENNA. JUSTICE WHITE.
JUSTICE BROWN. JUSTICE HARLAN. CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER. JUSTICE BREWER. JUSTICE DAY.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1904.

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early engaged in a fierce conflict with the Peqoud Indians, whom they completely annihilated. Connecticut took an active part also in the French-Indian war, war of the Revolution, war of 1812, and the Civil War. Connecticut ratified the Constitution of the United States January 9, 1788.

Area, 4,845 square miles; population (1905), 989,500; capital, Hartford.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The landing of the Pilgrims, who organized the Plymouth Colony in 1620, marks the beginning of the history of Massachusetts. About ten years later, another colony of about 1000 persons of considerable culture and education, who had left England to enjoy more religious and civic liberty, settled in the vicinity of the Harbor of Boston. They named the colony, in connection with another settlement at Salem, Massachusetts Bay, after the title of a tribe of neighboring Indians. This colony was sent over by a trading company chartered by the King. This company, like others so chartered, had a governor in England, and, attracted by the satisfactory reports from the pioneer colonists, finally transported the entire company from England to America. These immigrations were rapidly followed by others, and towns and villages sprang up along the coast and extended into the interior. A representative government was formed under the charter provisions, composed of members elected by the people. The King of England was recognized only remotely, but the laws passed did not conflict with those of the English Government. The King, perceiving the growing strength of the colonies, endeavored to take away its charter, but it was not until Cromwell's death that the charter was finally taken away. The colony was then erected into a province under a royal governor appointed by the crown. When the charter was withdrawn the Plymouth colony was merged with the larger colony of Massachusetts Bay, and at the same time the district of Maine passed under the control of Massachusetts.

The satisfactory experience of self-government and the enjoyment of liberty had given the people self-confidence and a consciousness of strength, so that when the English government, in order to increase its revenues, levied burdensome taxes on the colonies, the Massachusetts people were aroused to opposition. The passage of the Stamp Act caused the wildest excitement, and its repeal the following year was celebrated with great demonstrations of joy. The arrival of a British man-of-war renewed the excitement, and Massachusetts issued a circular letter to the colonies, which the British ministry in vain commanded the authorities to rescind. Then followed the Boston Massacre in 1770, the destruction of a cargo of tea, closing of the port by the British in 1775, the Concord and Lexington fight, the Battle of Bunker Hill, and the siege of Boston, which led to the Revolutionary War. Although it was here that the first steps towards the separation of the colonies from Great Britain were taken, there were no further military movements in the state after the events just mentioned. In 1780 a state government was formed and a constitution adopted by popular vote. The first governor was John Hancock, who had been president of the Continental Congress. The Federal Constitution was ratified January 9, 1788. In 1820 Maine was set off from Massachusetts as a separate state.

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Massachusetts is noted for its extensive manufacturing industries and takes the lead in the production of boots and shoes, cotton and woolen goods. The state has many prominent institutions of learning, and the interest taken in educational work there has always been conspicuous.

Area, 8,040 square miles; population (1905), 3,003,680; capital, Boston.

MARYLAND.

Maryland was colonized by George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, under a charter granted by Charles I. in 1632. The preceding year, Captain William Clayborne with a party from Virginia had made a settlement on Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay. Refusing to recognize Calvert's authority, Clayborne and his party were driven out of the colony. Leonard Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore, was elected first governor and a House of Assembly was established in 1639. The Calverts were Roman Catholics, and many Puritans and others of different religious beliefs having come into the territory, frequent conflicts occurred, occasionally leading to bloodshed.

Protracted disputes and difficulties later arose as to the boundaries of Maryland, but they were finally settled in accordance with the present outlines. Maryland ratified the Federal Constitution April 28, 1788. During the war of 1812, the state suffered severely from the naval operations of the British, and the militia of the state were the main forces that opposed the march of the English army to Washington in 1814. At the outbreak of the Civil War there was a division of sentiment and a large and powerful party were in sympathy with the south, but the state remained in the Union.

Area, 9,860 square miles; population (1905), 1,260,369; capital, Annapolis.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

The first English settlement in this state was made in 1670. Charles II. had given the territory of both the Carolinas to several English noblemen. The early settlers were of a mixed class and differed greatly in their political and religious opinions, causing difficulties in the adjustment of their domestic affairs. Another important element that came in early was the Huguenots, who settled chiefly in Craven County. Piratical excursions from the near-by Spanish possessions added greatly to the troubles and irregular life of the colony. Notwithstanding these disadvantageous conditions, the colony prospered and soon attained a position of comparative wealth and importance.

The state suffered severely in the war for independence, and many important battles were fought upon its soil. The state ratified the Federal Constitution May 23, 1788. November, 1832, a convention was held that passed the celebrated "Nullification Act," which declared the tariff law null and void. The action of the convention was sustained by the government, and the state taking the position that the decree of the state organization was superior to a law of the United States, President Jackson sent an armed force to uphold the Federal law. Subsequently the tariff was revised and a compromise affected.

South Carolina was the first state to secede from the Union on December 20, 1860. The first hostile act in the Civil War was the bombardment of Fort Sumter in April,

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1861. During the war the state suffered greatly, her harbors were blockaded and much property was destroyed by the Federal soldiers on the great march under General Sherman. In 1865, the ordinance of secession was repealed and slavery abolished.

Area, 30,170 square miles; population (1905), 1,434,901; capital, Columbia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Small settlements in New Hampshire were made in 1629, and in 1640 under a grant to an English colonist by the name of John Mason. Owing to the isolated positions and conflicting relations of the different settlements, they voluntarily placed themselves in 1641 under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The province, however, was misgoverned, and through the intrigues of the authorities its connection with Massachusetts was frequently severed. The political quarrels finally ended in 1741, and the colony was firmly established as a royal province and so remained until the Revolution. The state ratified the Constitution of the United States June 21, 1788.

Area, 9,005 square miles; population (1905), 429,118; capital, Concord.

VIRGINIA.

Virginia was named from Elizabeth, sometimes called by her subjects the Virgin Queen of England, and its early history is associated with some great names and some great events. Sir Walter Raleigh made unsuccessful attempts to establish a colony on the Virginia coast; Sir Francis Drake is also identified with the state in some of his voyages. The settlement at Jamestown in 1607, is an interesting event of colonial history. This was the first permanent English colony in North America, and the account of its struggle for existence in the first ten years of its life forms one of the dramatic episodes of American history. It was at Yorktown where Lord Cornwallis surrendered his army to Washington. The state has furnished a large number of distinguished men. Among them are Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, and Robert E. Lee. Seven presidents of the United States with an aggregate term of thirty-eight years were natives of the state, so that Virginia acquired the name of "Mother of Presidents." Virginia adopted a state constitution June 12, 1776, the first of its kind in America, and on June 25, 1788, ratified the United States Constitution.

At the breaking out of the Civil War a large party in the state was opposed to secession, but the ordinance was finally adopted and Richmond became the permanent capital of the Southern Confederacy. The principal operations of the war were carried on within the borders of the state, from the battle of Bull Run to the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox Court House. From the time of its settlement tobacco has been the leading article of cultivation and commerce in the state.

Area, 40,125 square miles; population (1905), 1,953,284; capital, Richmond.

NEW YORK.

All the colonies along the Atlantic coast that afterwards became the original thirteen states of the Union were founded by the English with the exception of New York. Henry Hudson, representing a commercial company in Holland, sailed into New

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York Bay in 1609 and discovered the river which has since borne his name. The Dutch soon afterward made settlements on Manhattan Island and in the vicinity, extending as far as Rhode Island on the north and east, to the Delaware River on the south. This brought them into conflict with the English. The Dutch power gradually gave way, and in 1664 the English took possession of the colony and gave the name of New York to New Amsterdam and that of Albany to Fort Orange. Ten years later, during the war between the Dutch and the English, a Dutch fleet took possession of New York and held it for a year, but after that the colony remained under British control until the Revolution. The infusion of Dutch life during the period of Dutch rule continued to affect the customs and manners of the metropolis until a recent date. A state constitution was adopted April 20, 1777, and the Constitution of the United States was ratified July 26, 1788. The National Government was first located in New York City, which was the state capital till 1797. Slavery was abolished in 1817. Steamboat navigation was begun on the Hudson in 1807, and in 1825 the Erie Canal was completed from the Great Lakes to the Hudson River, which greatly stimulated the internal commerce of the state.

Area, 47,620 square miles; population (1905), 8,067,308; capital, Albany.

NORTH CAROLINA.

North Carolina was not formally given that name until the division of the Carolinas, in 1729, into North and South. It was partially colonized by a body of English under Sir Walter Raleigh in 1585, but was not permanently settled until nearly one hundred years later. In the early part of the eighteenth century the immigration of a considerable number of people from Scotland and Ireland brought into the community an element of independent ideas that had a decided influence upon political opinions at that time. A state government was formed in 1776, and ratified the Constitution of the United States November 21, 1789. The state joined the Confederacy by a small majority and was restored to the Union in July, 1868.

Area, 48,580 square miles; population (1905), 2,031,740; capital, Raleigh.

RHODE ISLAND.

Rhode Island, the smallest state in the Union, was the last of the original thirteen to ratify the Constitution, which occurred May 29, 1790. It was settled in 1636, by Roger Williams, who had been expelled from Massachusetts on account of his religious opinions. Other settlements were made by other disaffected New Englanders, and in 1643 Roger Williams went to England and obtained a patent from Parliament under which a government was framed which gave large scope to individual liberty. This remained in force until it was supplanted by a royal charter in 1663. This charter, granted by Charles II. to the colony, was so liberal in its provisions that it remained a fundamental law of the state until 1842. The colony suffered from the King Philip War, but managed to prosper up to the time of the Revolution.

The amount of manufactured products in the state is the largest in proportion to population and area.

Area, 1,053 square miles; population (1905), 480,032; capital, Providence.

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VERMONT.

For some time previous to the Revolutionary War, Vermont was a bone of contention between New York and New Hampshire, both claiming the territory under certain conflicting English patents. At the outbreak of the war Vermont declared her independence and asked admission into the National Confederation, but it was not till March 4, 1791, that the state was admitted into the Union. It is an agricultural and grazing section, and good butter and maple sugar are among its well-known products. From the days of the "Green Mountain Boys," who were conspicuous during the revolutionary period, down to the present time, Vermonters have been noted for their sturdy patriotism and bravery.

Area, 9,563 square miles; population (1905), 349,251; capital, Montpelier.

KENTUCKY.

Closely associated with the early history of Kentucky is the name of the famous pioneer, Daniel Boone, a Virginia hunter who set out in 1869 to explore the region beyond the Cumberland. He was followed later by James Harrod and George Rogers Clarke. In 1775 the towns of Boonesborough and Harrodsburg were founded, these two settlements being the oldest in the west with the exception of some of the old French towns. In 1776 Kentucky was made a county of Virginia. By the time that the Constitution of the United States was adopted a large number of immigrants had settled in the state and began to demand a separate government. It became a separate territory in 1790 and was admitted into the Union as a state in 1792. Kentucky, being one of the border states during the Civil War, suffered from the devastation of its territory by both armies. The name Kentucky is an Indian word signifying "dark and bloody ground."

Area, 40,000 square miles; population (1905), 2,291,444; capital, Frankfort.

TENNESSEE.

Tennessee originally was a part of North Carolina. In 1778 a number of families settled near Nashville. These, with other immigrants that had arrived, proposed to establish a separate government under the name of Frankland, but this movement was checked by the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, which put an end to the movement. In 1790 North Carolina ceded the territory to the United States, when it was recognized as the Southwestern Territory. It applied for admission to the Union under the name of Tennessee, after the Indian name of its principal river, and was admitted June 1, 1796.

Area, 42,050 square miles; population (1905), 2,147,166; capital, Nashville.

OHIO.

Ohio is a part of the region first explored by La Salle in the seventeenth century. About 1750 the English made claim to the region and in the attempt to establish their claim brought on the French and Indian War, resulting in heavy loss of life and property among the early settlers. A treaty of peace, in 1795, put an end to the war. After

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the Revolution immigration increased rapidly, and the state has become one of the most wealthy and prosperous in the Union. It was admitted into the Union February 19, 1803.

Area, 40,760 square miles; population (1905), 4,400,155; capital, Columbus.

LOUISIANA.

Louisiana, named after Louis XIV., King of France, was originally a vast unexplored territory extending from the Gulf to the Rocky Mountains in the north and claimed by the French by reason of early explorations and discoveries. At the close of the French and Indian War in 1763, France ceded to England that portion of the territory east of the Mississippi and north of Iberville, and after the Revolution it became a part of the United States. At the same time France ceded to Spain all the territory west of the Mississippi. In 1800 Spain transferred this section back to France, and Jefferson, apprehensive of difficulties that might arise by having such a formidable power on our borders, purchased the territory from France in 1803 for $15,000,000. Soon afterwards the portion occupied by the state of Louisiana was organized as the territory of Orleans. On April 30, 1812, the territory was admitted into the Union under the title of Louisiana. The state seceded from the Union December 23, 1860, and was readmitted in 1868. Louisiana, with New Orleans as its chief port at the mouth of a great navigable river, is destined to great wealth and prosperity.

Area, 48,720 square miles; population (1905), 1,513,145; capital, Baton Rouge.

INDIANA.

Indiana was part of the territory ceded to Great Britain, in 1763, by France. It was afterwards severed from the Northwest Territory and included all of that district except Ohio. The secretary of the old undivided territory was William Henry Harrison, afterwards President of the United States. He was made first governor of the territory of Indiana when this was organized. The Indians under Tecumseh were hostile and troublesome, but were finally defeated by Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811. The state was admitted into the Union December 11, 1816, and Corydon was made the capital, which was removed to Indianapolis in 1825. The state has large manufacturing interests, which are greatly facilitated by its numerous railroads and canals.

Area, 36,350 square miles; population (1905), 2,678,492; capital, Indianapolis.

MISSISSIPPI.

The territory included in Mississippi was claimed by Georgia, but following the example of other states, ceded to the Union that portion west of the present boundary. This became the territory of Mississippi, taking the name from the great river, which signifies in the Indian tongue, "Father of Waters." The territory was afterwards divided, the western portion being admitted into the Union December 10, 1817, as the state of Mississippi, the eastern portion becoming the Alabama Territory. Mississippi

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was among the earliest states to secede from the Union, but was restored in February, 1870.

Area, 46,340 square miles; population (1905), 1,682,105; capital, Jackson.

ILLINOIS.

The territory now comprised in the state of Illinois was first visited by La Salle in 1670, and again by Marquette and Joliet in 1673. It was named Illinois, from a tribe of Indians by that name and from whom the river along which this tribe lived also took its designation. The French established trading-posts in that region, and lived at peace with the Indians. In 1763 the country was ceded by France to England, which caused great dissatisfaction among the Indians, as they were hostile to the English. Virginia claimed the country under her patent, but ceded it to the United States in 1784, when it became part of the Northwest Territory. It afterward became a part of Indiana Territory, but in 1809 it was organized as a separate territory and was admitted as a state into the Union December 3, 1818.

It is a state of great agricultural resources and became rapidly populated when the railroads made the section easily accessible. The marvelous growth of Chicago, its chief city, is an illustration of what western enterprise and western resources can accomplish. In 1831 Chicago contained but twelve families. In 1903 its population was 1,873,880. In 1871 the city was swept by a great conflagration which destroyed 20,000 buildings, causing a loss of nearly $200,000,000. The city was soon rebuilt in a much more substantial manner, and its growth and prosperity continue unchecked.

Area, 56,650 square miles; population (1905), 5,319,150; capital, Springfield.

ALABAMA.

The territory of Alabama was taken from Mississippi in 1817 and two years after was received into the Union as a state. It seceded January 7, 1861, and Montgomery was the first capital of the Southern Confederacy. It came back into the Union in June, 1868. It is one of the richest of Southern States in mineral resources, the principal of which are coal, iron, natural gas, marble, phosphates, gold, silver, and copper.

Area, 52,250 square miles; population (1905), 1,986,347; capital, Montgomery.

MAINE.

Explorations on the coast of Maine were begun early in the 17th century by the English and a small settlement made near the mouth of the Kennebec River. In 1639 Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained a charter for a large tract of the territory to which he gave the title of the Province of Maine. In 1652 the grant came under control of Massachusetts and to perfect her title she bought the rights of this territory from the heirs of Sir Ferdinando, and in 1691 the jurisdiction was confirmed by a royal charter. Massachusetts claims originally included Nova Scotia, but this was afterward relinquished and the remainder was secured to her by the treaty of 1783, which established the independence of the United States. This portion of Massachusetts was called the

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District of Maine until the war of 1812, and was admitted into the Union as a separate state March 3, 1820.

Area, 29,395 square miles; population (1905), 711,156; capital, Augusta.

MISSOURI.

Missouri, a part of the Louisiana Purchase, was first visited by the whites under De Soto in 1541, and Marquette and Joliet in 1673. The territory of Missouri was constituted in 1812 when Louisiana was made into a state. Missouri applied for admission as a state in 1817, which gave rise to a long political discussion growing out of the slavery question. The dispute was at length settled by a compromise which declared that slavery should be prohibited north of Lat. 30° 30′, and Missouri was admitted as a slave state, which occurred August 10, 1821.

Area, 68,735 square miles; population (1905), 3,320,405; capital, Jefferson City.

ARKANSAS.

This state was a portion of the Louisiana Purchase. When the state of Louisiana was formed in 1819 Arkansas was included in the new Missouri Territory, but was admitted into the Union as a state June 15, 1836. It was among the seceding states, returning to the Union in June, 1868.

It is an agricultural state and the soil along the river bottoms is very productive, but lessening in value as it extends to higher elevations. There are submerged tracts that require only proper drainage to make them valuable to the farmer. The uplands generally are well timbered and well watered. The most valuable production is cotton. Of cereals corn has the largest yield.

Area, 53,850 square miles; population (1905), 1,403,230; capital, Little Rock.

MICHIGAN.

This region was partially explored by white men in 1634, and again in 1640. The first permanent white settlement was made by Father Marquette in 1668 near Sault Ste. Marie. In 1701 a military colony was established by the French at Detroit, but in 1760 the fort fell into the hands of the English. Although it was besieged by the Indians under Pontiac for a long time, the English retained possession of it until the Revolution. In 1805 Michigan was made a territory by itself and thirty-two years afterward, January 25, 1837, it was admitted into the Union as a state.

Area, 57,430 square miles; population (1905), 2,557,275; capital, Lansing.

FLORIDA.

Florida was discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon in 1512, who named the country Florida, the Spanish name for Easter Sunday, because he landed upon that day. He explored a large part of the state in search of gold and the "fountain of youth." The Spanish made no settlement there, however, until 1566, when they drove out and massacred a little colony of French Huguenots. From that time the Spanish were in absolute control and settlements were made at Pensacola, and at St. Augustine on the

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east coast. St. Augustine is the oldest existing European town on the continent of America and dates from 1565. In 1763 Florida was ceded to the English government, but was restored to Spain at the close of the Revolutionary War. When the Seminole War broke out in 1818, the Spanish gave such aid to the enemies of the United States that Andrew Jackson with a federal force invaded Florida Territory. This proceeding led to international complications resulting in the purchase of Florida from Spain by the United States, for $5,000,000. Florida was admitted as a state in 1845. It seceded from the Union January 10, 1861, and was readmitted June, 1868.

The delightful climate of Florida has made it an attractive winter resort for the people of the Northern States and a considerable tide of emigration is flowing in that direction from the north. The state is noted for its orange product; the culture of this fruit being one of the largest industries.

Area, 58,680 square miles; population (1905), 197,202; capital, Tallahassee.

TEXAS.

Texas was originally included in the early claims of the Mexicans. The first settlement by Europeans was made by the French at Matagorda Bay under command of La Salle. Four years later they were massacred by the savages. When Louisiana was purchased from France in 1803 by the United States Texas was claimed as a part of the purchase, but Spain continued to claim possession until the purchase of Florida in 1819. Two years later Texas became a part of Mexico, and remained a province of that country until 1835. In the meantime many immigrants from the United States had settled in that territory and, after asserting their independence, petitioned for annexation to the United States. This led in 1845 to a bitter controversy in Congress in regard to the admission of Texas as a state, but this was accomplished December 29, 1845, resulting in the war which proved disastrous to Mexico. Texas was the last of the Confederate States to acknowledge the supremacy of the Union. In recent years it has developed great resources in the culture of cotton, stock, and from its expensive oil deposits.

Area, 265,780 square miles; population (1905), 3,455,300; capital, Austin.

IOWA.

Iowa was a part of that vast tract obtained by the Louisiana Purchase. It was first settled by the French near the present city of Dubuque, which was named after the explorer who built a trading-post at this point. It became a separate territory in 1838, and was admitted into the Union as a state December 28, 1846. Of the large number of Indian tribes that early inhabited the region but few individuals are left. Its large agricultural resources and extensive manufactures have made the state wealthy and prosperous.

Area, 56,025 square miles; population (1905), 2,210,331; capital, Des Moines.

WISCONSI

Wisconsin is included in that region first explored and occupied by French missionaries and traders and it was held by the French until its surrender to Great Britain in

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1763. In 1809 Wisconsin was annexed to the territory of Illinois and became a separate territory in 1836. The state was admitted into the Union May 29, 1848.

Area, 54,450 square miles; population (1905), 2,223,849; capital, Madison.

CALIFORNIA.

That portion of the Pacific Coast now occupied by California was discovered by the Spaniards in an expedition sent out by Cortes in 1537. Forty years later the coast was visited by the English under Sir Francis Drake as far north as Washington and they made claim to the country under the name of New Albion, but made no further attempts to establish their claims. Near the close of the seventeenth century the Jesuits established a number of missions along the coast and for a long time exerted a civilizing influence upon the native Indians and the Spanish immigrants.

After Mexico became independent of Spain California remained a province of the former, and by the treaty of peace with Mexico the United States came into possession of the vast territory of New Mexico and California on payment of $15,000,000. It was about this time that gold was discovered in the state, which immediately attracted a large immigration. California was for many years the first gold-producing state in the Union. In recent years petroleum has been found in many places, and it promises to be one of the great industries of the state. California was admitted into the Union September 9, 1850. The city of San Francisco, situated on the bay of the same name, with a population of 400,000, was nearly destroyed by an earthquake and fire April 18, 1906, with a loss of many lives and about $250,000,000 in property.

Area, 155,908 square miles; population (1905), 1,620,883: capital, Sacramento.

MINNESOTA.

The section included in the present boundaries of Minnesota was derived partly from the Louisiana Purchase and partly from the Oregon Territory. It was first explored by a party of Frenchmen under La Salle and Hennepin. In 1763 this region was ceded to Great Britain, and to the United States in 1783. The territory of Minnesota was organized in 1849. Notwithstanding bloody conflicts with the Indian tribes, the population rapidly increased. The hostile Indians were expelled, however, in 1862, and it has become one of the most wealthy and populous states of the Northwest. It was admitted into the Union as a state May 11, 1858.

Area, 79,205 square miles; population (1905), 1,979,912; capital, St. Paul.

OREGON.

The name Oregon was for a long time applied to all the territory on the Pacific coast extending from Lat. 42° to 54° 40′ N., but the boundary line between Great Britain and the United States was at last fixed in 1846 at Lat. 49°. In 1850 the United States passed a law granting 360 acres to every man, and the same to his wife, on condition of four years' residence on the land, and thereafter the population rapidly increased. On March 2, 1853, Washington Territory was formed out of the north half of Oregon; Novem-

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ber 5, 1857, a state constitution was adopted; and February 14, 1859, the state was admitted into the Union by act of Congress under the constitution previously ratified.

Area, 94,560 square miles; population (1905), 461,451; capital, Salem.

KANSAS.

Kansas and Nebraska were among the later territorial organizations taken from the great Louisiana Purchase. By an act of 1854 a territorial government was established for Kansas and Nebraska, and the question of slavery was left with the inhabitants of these territories to decide for themselves. This precipitated a bitter struggle that continued for several years. In the end the anti-slavery party triumphed. A constitution that excluded slavery was adopted and Kansas was admitted into the Union as a state January 29, 1861. It has had a rapid growth in population and wealth.

Area, 81,700 square miles; population (1905), 1,543,218; capital, Topeka.

WEST VIRGINIA.

West Virginia, prior to 1861, was a part of the original state of Virginia. When Virginia seceded from the Union the people of the section west of the range of the Alleghany Mountains were strongly opposed to the movement. A convention of loyalists met at Wheeling in June, 1861, and adopted an ordinance providing for the formation of a new state to be called *Kanawha*, and in the following November adopted a constitution changing the name to West Virginia. This constitution was adopted by a very large majority by the people and the state was formally admitted into the Union, June 20, 1863.

Area, 24,780 square miles; population (1905), 1,056,805; capital, Charleston.

NEVADA.

Nevada is a part of the territory acquired by the United States from Mexico by the Treaty of 1848. When California was set off in 1849, the eastern portion was organized as Utah Territory, and this again divided in 1861 and organized as Nevada Territory. The first settlers in the state were the Mormons, who located at Carson City. Rich silver mines were discovered in 1859 which attracted large immigration. In 1866 its area was increased to the present size by parts of Arizona and Utah. It was admitted as a state October 31, 1864. By reason of its decreased population, Nevada has the smallest representation in Congress of any state of the Union.

Area, 109,740 square miles; population (1905), 42,335; capital, Carson City.

NEBRASKA.

The name Nebraska signifies in the Indian tongue "water valley." It was organized as a territory in 1854, under the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The state had the same experience in regard to the slavery question as Kansas, but it was less bitter. It was rapidly populated mainly by people from the central western states, who were attracted

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to that country by its great fertility and its agricultural advantages. Nebraska was admitted into the Union March 1, 1867.

Area, 76,840 square miles; population (1900), 1,068,539; capital, Lincoln.

COLORADO.

Colorado was organized as a territory in 1861, and admitted as a state July 1, 1876. Because of its ratification so near the hundredth birthday of the Republic, it is sometimes called "The Centennial State." The discovery of gold near Pike's Peak, in 1858, attracted attention to the territory throughout the country, but there was not a large immigration until some years afterwards. Its healthful climate and other interesting features of the country soon brought into the state a considerable population of a class of people not usually found on the frontier. Much of its soil is very fertile, and its mineral wealth ranks among the greatest states in the Union in this product.

Area, 103,645 square miles; population (1905), 602,925; capital, Denver.

NORTH DAKOTA.

The region occupied by the Dakotas was first opened to settlement by a treaty with the Indians in 1851. It was the scene of a long and bloody warfare with the Indians. In 1889 the territory was divided into North Dakota and South Dakota and admitted into the Union as states. In November of the same year the state government was formed and the first legislature convened. North Dakota is a fertile agricultural region and produces large quantities of wheat and much live stock.

Area, 70,195 square miles; population (1905), 437,070; capital, Bismarck.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

This section of the country in connection with North Dakota was a part of the Louisiana Purchase. In 1883 a convention to frame a state constitution for Dakota met at Sioux Falls. The delegates of the two sections could not agree, however, and in 1888 it was decided to divide the territory into two states under the names of North Dakota and South Dakota. The bill for their admission passed Congress and was signed by the President February 22, 1889. This state for the most part is a prairie country adapted for agriculture and grazing. The Black Hills have forests of pine and hard wood. In this district extensive deposits of gold, silver, and tin are found.

Area, 76,850 square miles; population (1905), 454,624; capital, Pierre.

MONTANA.

Montana was originally a part of the Louisiana Purchase. The discovery of gold in the sixties caused a rapid inflow of population. In 1864 it was organized as a territory and five years later admitted as a state. It is a mountainous and picturesque region and has large mineral resources. A considerable part of the state along the river valleys is devoted to cattle-raising.

Area, 145,310 square miles; population (1905), 295,534; capital, Helena.

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WASHINGTON.

The state of Washington formed the extreme northwestern part of the United States' possessions until the accession of Alaskan territory. It was originally included in the great Oregon country, the title to which was for many years in dispute, being claimed by both English and Americans. The boundary question, however, was settled in 1846 when the parallel of 49 degrees was agreed on. Washington was organized as a separate territory in 1853, and was admitted into the Union as a state November 11, 1889. It has great mineral wealth, especially in coal, and its large fertile valleys in the interior have great advantages for agricultural purposes.

Area, 66,880 square miles; population (1905), 598,538; capital, Olympia.

IDAHO.

Idaho was included in that section of northwestern territory explored early in the last century by Lewis and Clark. The section comprised within the boundaries of this state was formerly a part of Washington Territory. Idaho Territory at one time included portions of Washington, Dakota, and Nebraska. Montana was set off in 1864, and Wyoming, in part, in 1868, leaving Idaho with its present borders. The territory became a state on July 3, 1890. The greater part of the state is high and mountainous, but in the southern portion there are some fertile river valleys which are very productive. Some sections, however, require irrigation to secure good crops.

Area, 84,800 square miles; population (1905), 193,362; capital, Boise.

WYOMING.

The greater part of Wyoming was included in the Louisiana Purchase, but a portion of it was taken from the Oregon Territory. It was organized as a territory in July, 1868, and made up from a portion of Dakota, Utah and Idaho, to which the name of Wyoming was given. It was admitted into the Union as a state July 10, 1890. The northwestern corner of the state is remarkable for its natural beauties and its wonderful geysers, and has been set aside as the Yellowstone National Park. The surface is greatly varied, a portion of it being very mountainous with intervening river plains of great fertility. Its extensive pasturage, which lasts throughout the year, affords support for millions of cattle and sheep.

Area, 97,575 square miles; population (1905), 101,816; capital, Cheyenne.

UTAH.

The section embracing Utah was a part of the Mexican cession of 1848, and was organized as a territory in 1850 which then included Colorado, Wyoming, and Nevada. The first settlement was made by the Mormons under Brigham Young at Salt Lake City in 1847, and they rapidly occupied the fertile valleys of the territory. When the railroads made the section more accessible, the Gentile population rapidly increased, and this led to much friction between them and the Mormon Church. The Mormons renounced polygamy in 1890 and continued their efforts for admission into the Union,

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but it was not until January 4, 1896, that it was made a state by the proclamation of the President.

Area, 84,938 square miles; population (1905), 309,734; capital, Salt Lake City.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

In 1788 and 1789 a district ten miles square was formed out of Washington County, Maryland, and a part of Virginia, and made the seat of the National Government. The portion taken from the Virginian territory is not now included. The city of Washington, at present, is practically coextensive with the District. The government is vested in three commissioners, under the direction of Congress, which makes all the laws for the entire district. The present area of the district is 64 square miles; and its estimated population in 1903 was nearly 400,000.

THE TERRITORIES.

ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO.

The region of New Mexico, which formerly included, besides the present territory, all of Arizona, portions of Colorado and Nevada and a part of the Mexican cession, was explored by Spaniards in the sixteenth century. The territory was organized in 1850 with Santa Fé as the capital.

Area, 122,580 square miles; population (1900), 195,310; capital, Santa Fé.

Arizona was set off from New Mexico in 1863, when it was organized as a territory. Its arid plains and hostile Indians prevented its rapid development, but the territory is very rich in mineral resources and with a system of irrigation the region would be very productive.

Area, 113,870 square miles; population (1900), 122,212; capital, Phœnix.

By an act of Congress passed in June, 1906, the territories of New Mexico and Arizona are to be admitted as one state under the name of Arizona, provided the people of each of these territories vote for joint statehood at an election to be held on November 6, 1906.

OKLAHOMA.

Oklahoma occupies the tract of land set apart for the Creek and Seminole Indians, who ceded their rights to the United States in 1889 and the land was opened for settlement. There was a great rush of settlers, and portions of the territory were rapidly populated. The region is very fertile and has a great diversity of resources both agricultural and mineral. It was organized as a territory in 1880 and a territorial governor was appointed. An enabling act for its admission with the Indian Territory as one state was passed by Congress in June, 1906.

Area, 38,830 square miles; population (1900), 398,331; capital, Guthrie.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

This territory, originally a part of the Louisiana Purchase, was set aside by the United States government in 1832 as a permanent home for the Indian tribes east of

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the Mississippi. Reservations were set apart for the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and other smaller tribes. In 1866 the Creeks ceded the western part of their land to the United States and the Seminoles all of theirs in 1890. The Territory is to be united with Oklahoma to form a new state in accordance with an act of Congress passed in June, 1906.

Area, 31,000 square miles; population (1900), 391,960.

ALASKA.

The territory of Alaska comprises the extreme northwestern part of the American continent. It is larger than the entire area of the original thirteen states. It was purchased from Russia in 1867, for $7,200,000, and organized with a territorial district government in 1884. The latest census gave the population as 63,592, but owing to the gold discoveries it is probably at the present time much larger. At the time the United States acquired the territory the seal fur production was the only industry. It was found, however, that its fisheries are very valuable, and there are also possibilities for large agricultural products. Its rich gold deposits, however, will probably be its chief attraction for immigration for some time to come.

Area, 581,107 square miles; population (1900), 63,592.

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APPENDIX.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

In Congress, July 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

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He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Government:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

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He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

New Hamphshire—JOSIAH BARTLETT, WM. WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay—JOHN HANCOCK, SAML. ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBT. TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island—STEP. HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

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Connecticut—ROGER SHERMAN, SAM'EL HUNTINGTON, WM. WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York—WM. FLOYD, PHIL. LIVINGSTON, FRANS. LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey—RICHD. STOCKTON, JNO. WITHERSPOON, FRAS. HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRA. CLARK.

Pennsylvania—ROBT. MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJA. FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEO. CLYMER, JAS. SMITH, GEO. TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEO. ROSS.

Delaware—CÆSAR RODNEY, GEO. READ, THO. M'KEAN.

Maryland—SAMUEL CHASE, WM. PACA, THOS. STONE, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

Virginia—GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, TH. JEFFERSON, BENJA. HARRISON, THOS. NELSON, jr., FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina—WM. HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.

South Carolina—EDWARD RUTLEDGE, THOS. HEYWARD, Junr., THOS. LYNCH, Junr., ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia—BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEO. WALTON.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.—All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

* The Federal Convention which framed the Constitution met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, and completed its work September 17. The number of delegates chosen to the convention was sixty-five; ten did not attend; sixteen declined signing the Constitution, or left the convention before it was ready to be signed; thirty-nine signed.

The States ratified the Constitution in the following order:

Delaware	December 7, 1787	Maryland	April 28, 1788
Pennsylvania	December 12, 1787	South Carolina	May 23, 1788
New Jersey	December 18, 1787	New Hampshire	July 21, 1788
Georgia	January 2, 1788	Virginia	June 25, 1788
Connecticut	January 9, 1788	New York	July 26, 1788
Massachusetts	February 6, 1788	North Carolina	November 21, 1789
		Rhode Island	May 29, 1790.

The first ten amendments were proposed in 1789, and declared adopted in 1791. The eleventh amendment was proposed in 1794, and declared adopted in 1798. The twelfth amendment was proposed in 1803, and declared adopted in 1804. The thirteenth amendment was proposed and adopted in 1865. The fourteenth amendment was proposed in 1866, and adopted in 1868. The fifteenth amendment was proposed in 1869, and adopted in 1870.

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SECTION II.—The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantation* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.—The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

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The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.—The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.—Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.—The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.—All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate

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shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approves he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of the house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.—The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

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To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by session of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and,

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.—The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X.—No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or

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exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.—The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives, to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]*

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President;

* This clause of the Constitution has been amended. See twelfth article of the amendments.

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neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he may have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.—The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.—He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.—The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United

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States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.—The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.—Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.—The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

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A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.—New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.—The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

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The Senators and Representatives beforementioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from VIRGINIA.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK—Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY—William Livingston, David Brearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE—George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND—James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA—John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA—William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA—John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA—William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

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ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparge others retained by the people.

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ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the Presidents of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION I.—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

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SECTION II.—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION I.—All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION II.—Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION III.—No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION IV.—The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION V.—The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION I.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account or race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION II.—The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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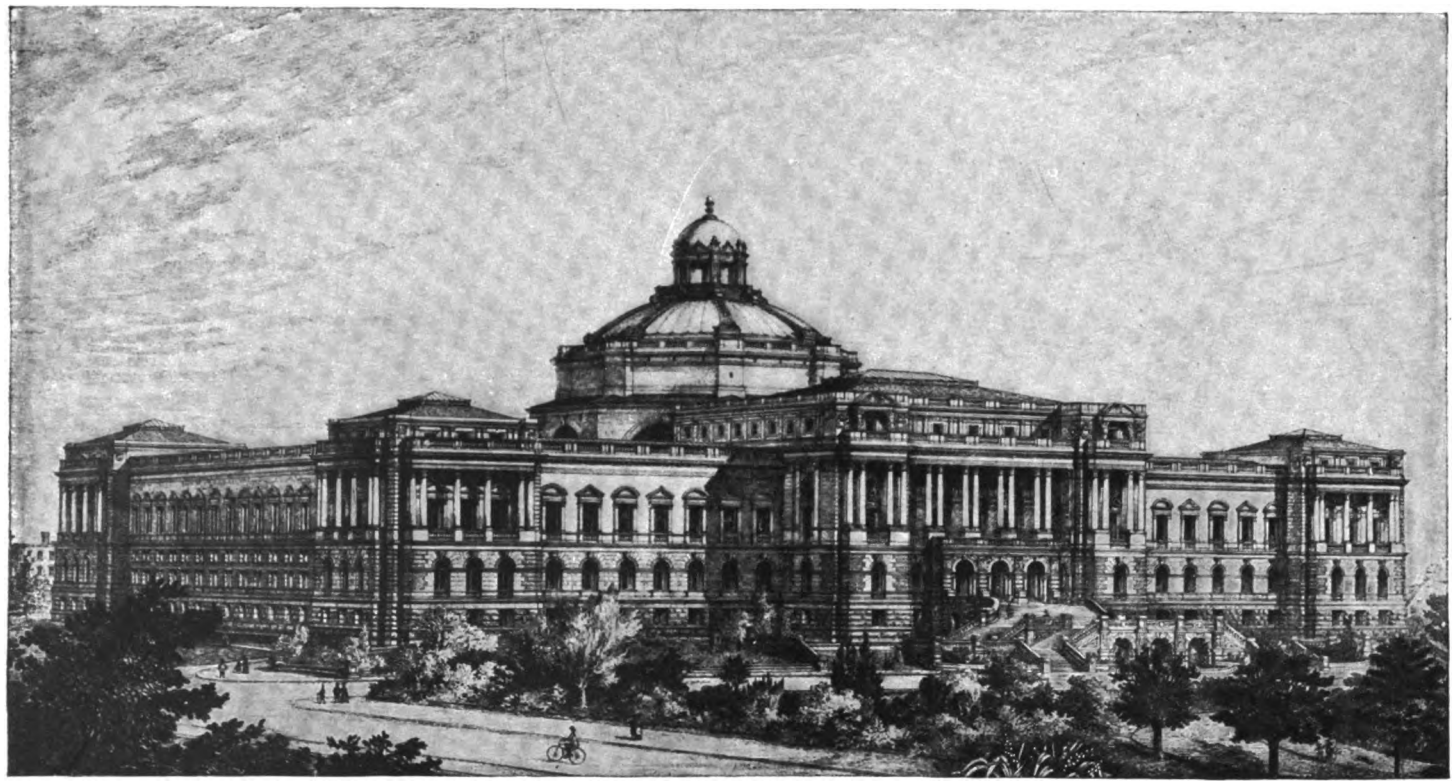

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WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

September 19, 1796.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindnesses; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes

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—perhaps still more in the eyes of others—has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me, more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead; amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging; in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to the grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained, that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsels; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The Unity of Government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence—the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee

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that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation, derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsel and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibilities, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest; here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

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While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as the main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western;* whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

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To the efficacy and permanency of your Union a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of government, better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the Constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis

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and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with the particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and it is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and the duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it

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demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our own country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoid-

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ing likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it! Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interests. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels

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and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nations) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions; to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit your own to

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stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world—so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for, let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. (I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy.) I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity and interest.

But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors and preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of

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April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor, to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanely speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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EVENTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

870. Iceland discovered by the Northmen.
876 or 877. Greenland discovered by the Northman Gunnbjorn.
983. First colony in the New World planted by Eric the Red, at Ericsford, Greenland.
1000. North America discovered by Leif, the son of Eric the Red.
1002. Voyage of Thorvald, brother of Leif, to Vinland.
1007. Expedition under Thorfinn to Vinland, with birth of Snorri, first European child in North America.
1436. Christopher Columbus born in Genoa, Italy.
1492. August 3. Columbus sailed with his fleet from Palos, Spain, for the New World.
1492. October 12. The New World (Watling's Island) discovered by Columbus.
1492. December 6. Hayti discovered by Columbus, who founded at Isabella the first Spanish colony in America.
1496. August 4. Santo Domingo, Hayti, the oldest permanent settlement in the New World, founded.
1497. June 24. North America discovered by John and Sebastian Cabot, probably the coast of Labrador.
1498. August 1. South America discovered by Columbus during his third voyage.
1499. First voyage of Amerigo Vespucci to the New World.
1506. First French expedition under Jean Denys explored the coast of the New World.
1507. The New World first called America in Cosmographie Introductio.
1512. April 2. Florida discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon.
1513. September 25. Pacific Ocean discovered by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.
1519. March 4. Conquest of Mexico begun by landing of Hernando Cortes.
1524. March 10. Verrazzano, with a French expedition, arrived off the New World near Cape Fear, North Carolina.
1541. May 1. The Mississippi River discovered by Fernando de Soto.
1565. September 8. St. Augustine, Florida, the oldest town in the United States, founded by Pedro Menendez.
1578–'79. The western coast of North America explored by Sir Francis Drake, who called it New Albion.
1587. July. Settlement on Roanoke Island of colonists under John White sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh.
1587. August 18. Virginia Dare, first child of English parents born in the New World.
1603. March 15. Samuel de Champlain left France to explore America.

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1606. April 10. Patents granted by James I. of England to Virginia companies.
1607. May 14. First permanent English settlement made in Jamestown, Virginia.
1608. July 3. First permanent French settlement made in Quebec, Canada.
1609. September 11. The Hudson River discovered by Henry Hudson, who entered New York Bay on September 3.
1614. A fort erected on Manhattan Island by the Dutch.
1620. December 21. The Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth, making the first permanent English settlement in New England.
1621. July 1. The Dutch West India Company incorporated.
1622. First iron made in America by John Berkeley near Richmond, Virginia.
1623. May. First permanent Dutch settlement made in New York city.
1623. First permanent settlement by the Dutch (Walloons) in Brooklyn, New York.
1630. The colony of Connecticut granted to the Earl of Warwick.
1630. September 7. First permanent settlement in Boston, Massachusetts.
1631. First iron mill built in New England in Lynn, Massachusetts.
1632. June 20. Maryland granted to Lord Baltimore by Charles I.
1634. March 25. First permanent settlement of Maryland, in St. Mary's, by Leonard Calvert.
1635. October. Roger Williams exiled by the General Court of Massachusetts.
1636. June. Providence, Rhode Island, founded by Roger Williams.
1636. October 28. Harvard College founded in Cambridge, Massachusetts.
1638. April 18. Colony of New Haven founded by Puritans. It continued separate till 1665.
1638. April. First permanent Swedish settlement made, near Wilmington, Delaware.
1639. The first printing-press in the colonies erected in Cambridge, Massachusetts.
1643. The colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut, formed "The United Colonies of New England."
1645. Direct slave trade between New England and West Africa begun.
1647. First execution for witchcraft in New England.
1661. Publication by John Eliot of the New Testament in the Indian dialect of Massachusetts.
1664. September 5. The New Netherlands surrendered to the English by Governor Stuyvesant.
1670. The Hudson Bay Company formed by grant to Prince Rupert and others from Charles II.
1675. June 24. King Philip's war broke out. It lasted a year.
1676. July. Nathaniel Bacon led a rebellion against Governor Berkeley in Virginia.
1681. Second printing-press in the colonies erected in Williamsburg, Virginia.
1681. February 24. Charles II. granted a patent to William Penn of territory known as Pennsylvania.
1682. April 9. La Salle reached the Gulf of Mexico after having descended the Mississippi River from its junction with the Illinois River.
1682. October. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, founded by William Penn.

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1682. November 30. Penn signed a treaty with the Indians at Shackamaxon.
1689. June. France declared war against England, followed by the massacre of various English colonists by Indians.
1689. Total population of English colonies estimated at 200,000.
1692. March 1. Arrest of Sarah Good, and beginning of Salem witchcraft panic.
1693. College of William and Mary founded near Williamsburg, Virginia.
1700. First public library in America, founded in New York city.
1700. November 11. Yale College founded in Saybrook, Connecticut.
1701. June 24. First permanent settlement made in Michigan, at Detroit.
1704. April 24. The *Weekly Boston News Letter*, the first regular newspaper issued in America, began publication.
1706. January 17. Benjamin Franklin born in Boston, Massachusetts.
1710. A postal service for the colonists, created by Parliament, with chief office in New York city.
1710. October 2. Port Royal (now Annapolis, N. S.) surrendered to an expedition of the colonists from Boston, Massachusetts.
1711. A regular weekly mail established between Boston and Maine, and a bi-weekly mail between Boston and New York.
1713. April 11. The Peace of Utrecht signed, by which France cedes Acadia, Hudson Bay and its borders, and Newfoundland to Great Britain.
1714. Alabama settled by the French, who built Fort Toulouse at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers.
1718. July 30. Death of William Penn in Berkshire, England.
1718. August. First permanent settlement in New Orleans, Louisiana, by the French under Bienville.
1719. The American Weekly, the second paper to be issued in America, began publication in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
1722. Third Indian war in New England.
1725. October 16. The New York *Gazette*, issued by William Bradford, began publication.
1729. August. First permanent settlement of Baltimore, Maryland.
1730. The first paper-mill in New England, erected in Milton, Massachusetts.
1730. A line of stages established to make bi-monthly trips between New York and Philadelphia.
1732. February 22. George Washington born in Westmoreland County, Virginia.
1732. June 9. The province of Georgia created by a grant of George II. to James Oglethorpe.
1733. February 12. Savannah, Georgia, first settled by James Oglethorpe with English colonists.
1735. The first foreign newspaper (German) printed in America in Germantown, Pennsylvania.
1741. Bering discovered the Aleutian Islands and Bering Strait.
1741. The *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, the first literary periodical

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published in the colonies, established in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin.

1744. March 31. France declared war against England, called King George's War.

1745. June 17. Louisburg, Cape Breton, surrendered to an Anglo-colonial force.

1746. College of New Jersey, in Princeton, New Jersey, chartered.

1748. October 7. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle signed between France, England, and Spain.

1752. Benjamin Franklin made experiments with electricity.

1754. October 31. King's (now Columbia) College, in New York city, chartered.

1755. May 18. England declared war against France.

1755. July 9. General Braddock defeated by the Indians while advancing to attack Fort Duquesne (near Pittsburg, Pennsylvania).

1759. September 18. Quebec surrendered by Marquis de Montcalm to General Wolfe.

1760. September. Canada surrendered to the English under Lord Amherst.

1761. June 6. Transit of Venus observed in Newfoundland by a party from Harvard College under Professor John Winthrop, being the first college scientific expedition ever sent out in the United States.

1763. February 10. Treaty of Paris signed, by which Canada is ceded to England.

1764. February 15. First permanent settlement in St. Louis, Missouri, by Pierre L. Laclede.

1764. April 5. The Stamp Act passed by the British Parliament.

1765. October 7. First Continental Congress met in New York city and adopted a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances."

1766. March 28. The Stamp Act repealed by the British Parliament.

1770. March 5. The Boston Massacre took place.

1770. Total population of English colonies estimated at 2,312,000.

1773. Shipments of tea from England with tax, imported by the East India Company.

1773. The first steam engine constructed in America in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

1774. September 5. A Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, with Peyton Randolph as president.

1775. April 19. Battles in Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts.

1775. May 10. A Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, with John Hancock as president.

1775. June 15. George Washington appointed commander in chief of the colonial forces.

1775. July 4. General Washington took command of the Colonial forces in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

1775. December 30. Unsuccessful attempt made to capture Quebec, Canada, with death of General Montgomery.

1776. March 17. Boston evacuated by the British under Lord Howe.

1776. July 4. Declaration of Independence signed.

1776. August 27. Repulse of the Americans at the battle of Long Island.

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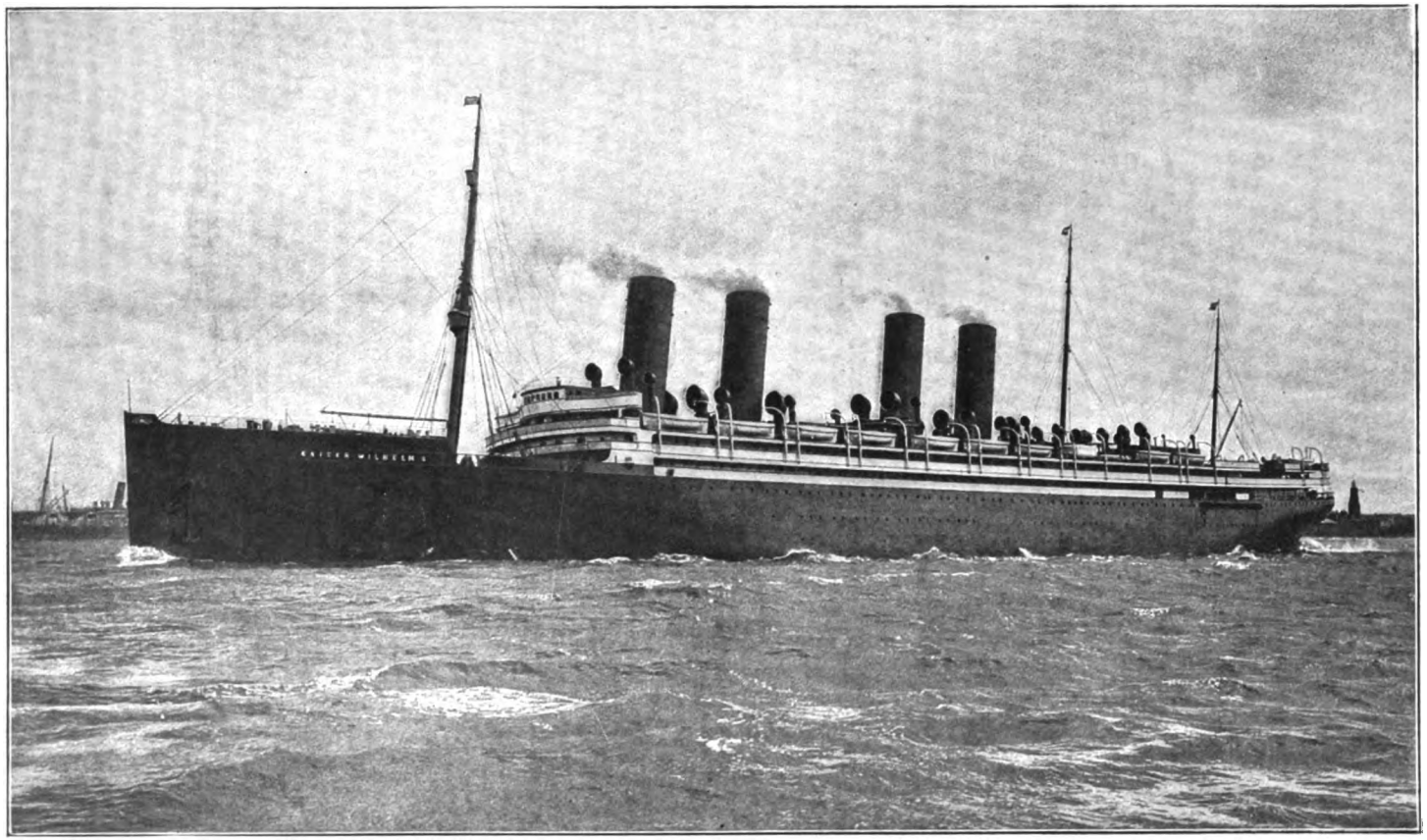

S. S. KAISER WILHELM II, NORTH GERMAN LLOYD LINE.

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1776. October 9. San Francisco, California, founded by the building of a Spanish mission.
1776. December 25, 26. General Washington crossed the Delaware and surprised the Hessians at Trenton, New Jersey.
1777. June 14. The flag of stars and stripes adopted by Congress.
1777. July 31. Marquis de Lafayette commissioned a major-general in the American army.
1777. October 7. Surrender of General Burgoyne, with 6,000 British troops, to General Gates.
1778. February 6. The independence of the American colonies acknowledged by France.
1778. June 28. Battle of Monmouth, with defeat of Sir Henry Clinton by General Washington.
1778. July 4. Defeat of the Indians at Kaskaskia, Illinois, by General George Rogers Clark.
1778. July 11. Arrival off Sandy Hook of French fleet under Count d'Estaing.
1779. July 15. Capture of Stony Point by the Americans under General Wayne.
1779. September 22. Naval victory of the *Bon Homme Richard* over the British frigate *Serapis*.
1780. September 22. Treason of Benedict Arnold discovered.
1780. October 3. Major André hanged as a spy in Tarrytown, New York.
1781. January 17. Battle of Cowpens.
1781. October 19. Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, with 7,000 British soldiers, to General Washington.
1781. December 31. The Bank of North America, in Philadelphia, incorporated by Act of Congress, the first in the United States.
1782. First Bible printed in America by Robert Aitkin in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
1782. November 30. Preliminary treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, signed in Paris.
1783. The American Spelling Book, by Noah Webster, published.
1783. April 3. Washington Irving born in New York city.
1783. September 3. Treaty of peace signed, by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States.
1783. November 25. New York city evacuated by the British.
1784. The Pennsylvania *Packet* or the *General Advertiser*, the first daily newspaper in America, began publication in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
1786. December 9. Shays's rebellion begun in Massachusetts.
1787. May 14. Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia, with George Washington as president.
1787. July 13. Northwest Territory organized as proposed by Thomas Jefferson.
1787. September 17. Majority of the delegates signed the Constitution.
1787. The manufacture of salt from wells near Syracuse, New York, begun.
1788. Cincinnati, Ohio, first settled by John C. Symmes.

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1788. June 21. New Hampshire having ratified the Constitution, its acceptance was assured.
1789. March 4. The first national Congress assembled in New York city.
1789. April 30. George Washington inaugurated first President of the United States.
1789. July 4. First tariff law passed by Congress.
1789. July 27. Department of Foreign Affairs of State created, with Thomas Jefferson as first Secretary.
1789. August 7. Department of War created, with Henry Knox as first Secretary.
1789. September 2. Department of the Treasury created, with Alexander Hamilton as first Secretary.
1789. September 22. The Post-office Department created, with Samuel Osgood as first Postmaster-General.
1789. September 26. John Jay appointed first Chief Justice of the United States.
1789. September 27. Department of Justice created, with Edmund J. Randolph as first Attorney-General.
1790. The first census showed the population of the United States to be 3,929,326.
1790. February 4. The United States Supreme Court created.
1790. April 15. The first patent-right law passed by Congress.
1790. May 31. The first copyright law passed by Congress.
1790. June 5. The steamboat invented by John Fitch made a trip up the Delaware River.
1790. July 16. The District of Columbia ceded to the national Government.
1791. Anthracite coal discovered in Carbon and adjacent counties of Pennsylvania.
1791. Cotton spinning successfully established in the United States, in Pawtucket, Rhode Island.
1791. February 9. First savings bank created in Philadelphia by act of Congress.
1791. March 4. Vermont admitted into the Union as a State.
1791. September 9. Washington City so named in honor of George Washington.
1792. June 1. Kentucky admitted to the Union.
1792. September 7. The first United States Mint opened in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
1793. The cotton gin invented by Eli Whitney.
1793. Clocks first made by Eli Terry, in Plymouth, Connecticut.
1793. February 12. First fugitive-slave law passed by Congress.
1794. March 27. An act of Congress authorized the construction of six frigates as the foundation of a navy.
1794. August 20. Defeat of the Indians by General Wayne near the Miami rapids, Ohio.
1794. August-September. The whisky insurrection in western Pennsylvania.
1794. November 3. William Cullen Bryant born in Cummington, Massachusetts.
1796. June 1. Tennessee admitted to the Union.
1797. March 4. John Adams inaugurated President.
1797. The first American vessel launched on Lake Erie, near Erie, Pennsylvania.

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1798. April 7. The Mississippi Territory established by act of Congress.
1798. Department of the Navy created, with George Cabot as first secretary.
1798. All commercial relations with France suspended by act of Congress.
1799. December 14. George Washington died at Mount Vernon, Virginia.
1800. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church founded.
1800. The second census showed the population to be 5,318,403.
1800. November 22. The first meeting of Congress in Washington City, whither the national capital had been transferred.
1801. March 4. Thomas Jefferson inaugurated President.
1801. June 10. Tripoli declared war against the United States.
1802. The United States Military Academy founded at West Point, New York.
1802. November 29. Ohio admitted to the Union.
1803. April 30. Louisiana purchased from France for $15,000,000.
1803. May 25. Ralph Waldo Emerson born in Boston, Massachusetts.
1804. Chicago first settled by John Kinzie, who built a trading post there.
1804. The Middlesex Canal, connecting Boston with the Concord River, completed, being the first canal opened for transportation in the United States.
1804. March. Lewis and Clark started on their exploration of the northwest part of the United States.
1804. July 4. Nathaniel Hawthorne born in Salem, Massachusetts.
1805. July 3. Tripoli made peace with the United States.
1807. February 27. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow born in Portland, Maine.
1807. May 22. Aaron Burr's trial for treason began, and resulted in his acquittal on September 1.
1807. August 11. The steamboat *Clermont*, built by Robert Fulton, made its first trip from New York city to Albany, New York.
1807. December 22. The Embargo Act passed by Congress, forbidding the departure of any vessel from the United States for a foreign port.
1808. The steamboat *Phœnix*, built by John Stevens, made the trip from Hoboken, New Jersey, to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, being the first sea trip made under steam by any vessel.
1809. January 19. Edgar Allan Poe born in Boston, Massachusetts.
1809. March 4. James Madison inaugurated President.
1809. August 29. Oliver Wendell Holmes born in Cambridge, Massachusetts.
1810. The third census showed the population to be 7,239,881.
1811. October 27. The first steamboat left Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, by the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers for New Orleans, Louisiana.
1811. November 7. Defeat of the Indians, under Tecumseh, at Tippecanoe, Indiana, by General Harrison.
1812. April 30. Louisiana admitted to the Union.
1812. June 18. War declared against Great Britain by the United States.
1812. August 19. Naval fight between the United States vessel *Constitution* and the British frigate *Guerrière*.

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1813. June 1. Naval fight between the United States frigate *Chesapeake* and the British frigate *Shannon*.
1813. September 13. The British defeated by Commodore Perry in a naval fight on Lake Erie.
1814. July 25. Battle of Lundy's Lane.
1814. August 25. The British captured Washington City and burned many buildings.
1814. December 24. Treaty of peace signed in Ghent between Great Britain and the United States.
1815. January 8. Battle of New Orleans, in which the British were defeated by General Jackson.
1815. March. The Dey of Algiers declared war against the United States.
1816. First Seminole War.
1816. December 11. Indiana admitted to the Union.
1817. March 4. James Monroe inaugurated President.
1817. July 4. The construction of the Erie Canal begun.
1817. December 10. Mississippi admitted to the Union.
1818. Steam navigation begun on Lake Erie.
1818. December 3. Illinois admitted to the Union.
1819. February 22. Treaty for the cession of Florida concluded between Spain and the United States.
1819. May 21. The steamship *Savannah* made the first trip across the Atlantic from Savannah to Liverpool, where it arrived on June 20, having stopped at New York.
1819. December 14. Alabama admitted to the Union.
1820. The fourth census showed the population to be 9,633,822.
1820. March 15. Maine admitted to the Union.
1821. The first edition of Webster's Dictionary published.
1821. February 26. The Missouri Compromise Bill adopted by Congress.
1821. July 1. Florida taken possession of by General Jackson for the United States.
1821. August 10. Missouri admitted to the Union.
1824. August 15. Lafayette arrived at Staten Island, New York, on a visit to the United States.
1825. March 4. John Quincy Adams inaugurated President.
1825. June 17. Corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument, in Boston, laid by Lafayette.
1825. October 26. Erie Canal opened by boats leaving Buffalo, New York; they reach New York city on November 4.
1826. October 7. The first railroad constructed in the United States with metallic tracks opened, extending from Quincy, Massachusetts, to tidewater.
1829. March 4. Andrew Jackson inaugurated President.
1830. The fourth census showed the population to be 12,866,020.
1830. The manufacture of lead pencils, by Joseph Dixon, begun in Salem, Massachusetts.

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1830. The South Carolina Railroad, the first steam railway for passenger traffic, began running.
1830. August 3. Welland Canal, connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario, completed.
1830. August 4. The city of Chicago, Illinois, laid out.
1831. October 2. Discovery of chloroform by Samuel Guthrie.
1832. The Black Hawk War began.
1832. November. First street railway in the United States opened for travel; ran from the City Hall to Fourteenth Street, in New York city.
1835. First house built in San Francisco, California.
1835. Revolving pistol patented by Samuel Colt.
1835. November 7. Texas declared its independence.
1836. March 6. Capture of the Alamo in the Texan war for independence.
1836. June 15. Arkansas admitted to the Union.
1837. January 26. Michigan admitted to the Union.
1837. March 4. Martin Van Buren inaugurated President.
1837. May 10. Specie payment suspended by all New York city banks, and general financial depression.
1838. First zinc smelted in the United States, at Washington City, from zinc ores from New Jersey.
1838. August 18. Captain Charles Wilkes started on his South Sea Exploring Expedition.
1839. February 24. Charles Goodyear obtained his first patent for the vulcanization of India rubber.
1839. November. The first photographic portrait from life taken by John W. Draper, in New York city.
1840. July 4. The first Cunard steamer, the *Britannic*, left Liverpool for Boston.
1840. The fifth census showed the population to be 17,069,453.
1841. March 4. William Henry Harrison inaugurated President.
1841. First steam fire engine in the United States completed and put into use in New York city.
1841. April 4. President Harrison died, and is succeeded by Vice-President Tyler.
1841. April 10. First issue of the New York *Tribune*, edited by Horace Greeley, appeared.
1842. May 18. Attempted seizure of arsenal at Providence, Rhode Island, by Thomas W. Dorr, constituting Dorr's Rebellion.
1842. June 10. Lieutenant Frémont started on his first Western exploring expedition.
1842. October 18. Submarine telegraph wire laid between New York city and Governor's Island by S. F. B. Morse.
1842. November 10. Treaty between the United States and Great Britain, settling the northwestern boundary, proclaimed by the President.
1844. Copper mining in Lake Superior region begun.
1844. September 24. S. F. B. Morse demonstrated the feasibility of the electric

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telegraph by sending a message from Baltimore, Maryland, to Washington City.

1845. United States Naval Academy founded in Annapolis, Maryland.
1845. Petroleum obtained by boring in Tarentum, near Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.
1845. March 1. The annexation of Texas authorized by President Tyler.
1845. March 3. Florida admitted to the Union.
1845. March 4. James K. Polk inaugurated President.
1845. December 29. Texas admitted to the Union.
1846. April 24. First engagement in the Mexican War.
1846. May 8. Battle of Palo Alto.
1846. May 11. The United States declared war against Mexico.
1846. July 5. California declared itself independent of Mexican rule.
1846. August 8. The Wilmot Proviso introduced into Congress.
1846. September 10. Elias Howe, Jr., received his first patent for sewing machine.
1846. September 30. First use of sulphuric ether as an anæsthetic in surgery.
1846. Salt Lake City, Utah, selected as a site for the Mormons.
1846. December 28. Iowa admitted to the Union.
1847. February 8. Annexation of California proclaimed by Commodore Shubrick.
1847. February 22, 23. Defeat of the Mexicans at Buena Vista by General Taylor.
1847. March 27. Vera Cruz surrendered to General Scott.
1847. September 14. City of Mexico taken by General Scott.
1847. Pig-iron first converted into steel by William Kelly in Kentucky, who decarbonized the iron by a current of air.
1848. January 18. Gold discovered in California by John W. Marshall.
1848. February 2. Treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico, signed in Guadalupe Hidalgo.
1848. May 29. Wisconsin admitted to the Union.
1849. Department of the Interior created, with Thomas Ewing as first Secretary.
1849. March 5. Zachary Taylor inaugurated President.
1850. The sixth census showed the population to be 22,191,876.
1850. July 4. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty promulgated by the President.
1850. July 9. President Taylor died and Vice-President Millard Fillmore succeeded to the presidency on July 10.
1850. August 23. The fugitive-slave bill passed by Congress.
1850. September 9. California admitted to the Union.
1851. May 14. The New York and Lake Erie Railroad completed from Piermont, New York, to Dunkirk, New York.
1851. October 8. The Hudson River Railroad completed from New York city to Albany, New York.
1852. June 29. Henry Clay died, aged seventy-five years.
1852. October 24. Daniel Webster died, aged seventy years.
1852. November 24. Commodore Perry departed from Norfolk, Virginia, for Japan.
1853. March 4. Franklin Pierce inaugurated President.

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1853. May. South Pacific Exploring Expedition departed from Norfolk, Virginia, under command of Captain Ringgold.
1853. July 14. A World's Fair opened in Crystal Palace, New York city.
1853. July 14. The expedition under Commodore Perry arrived in Japan, and delivered the President's letter.
1853. October 11. New York Clearing House began operations.
1854. March 1. The New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company organized by Cyrus W. Field, Peter Cooper, and others.
1854. March 31. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill introduced by Senator Douglas, signed by the President.
1854. March 31. Treaty with Japan signed.
1855. January. First bridge across the Mississippi River built at Minneapolis, Minnesota.
1855. January 28. The railroad between Colon and Panama completed.
1855. March. Suspension bridge across the Niagara River completed.
1856. Manufacture of condensed milk begun in the United States, in Litchfield, Connecticut.
1856. Bessemer steel made in Phillipsburg, New Jersey.
1857. March 6. Dred Scott decision made by Chief-Justice Taney.
1857. August 24. The supension of the Ohio Life and Trust Company began the financial crisis that extended throughout the country.
1858. Cooper Union, in New York city, given to the public by Peter Cooper.
1858. May 11. Minnesota admitted to the Union.
1858. August 4, 5. Successful completion of the first Atlantic cable.
1859. February 14. Oregon admitted to the Union.
1859. August 26. Boring of the first well for petroleum in Titusville, Pennsylvania, by E. L. Drake.
1859. October 16. Raid on Harper's Ferry by John Brown.
1860. The seventh census showed the population to be 32,433,321.
1860. December 17. South Carolina adopted an ordinance of secession.
1861. January 9. First shot of the civil war fired against the *Star of the West*, in Charleston harbor, South Carolina.
1861. January 9, Mississippi; 10, Florida; 11, Alabama; 19, Georgia; 26, Louisiana; 30, North Carolina, seceded from the Union.
1861. January 29. Kansas admitted to the Union,
1861. February 1. Texas seceded from the Union.
1861. February 9. Provisional Confederate Government organized in Montgomery, Alabama.
1861. February 18. Jefferson Davis inaugurated provisional President of the Confederate States.
1861. March 4. Abraham Lincoln inaugurated President.
1861. April 14. Surrender of Fort Sumter to the Confederates.
1861. April 17. Virginia seceded from the Union.

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1861. May 3. President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers.
1861. June 10. Battle of Big Bethel.
1861. July 21. The first battle of Bull Run.
1861. October 25. Telegraph line connecting St. Louis and San Francisco completed.
1861. November 8. The Confederate envoys, James M. Mason and John Slidell, taken from British steamer *Trent*, by Captain Wilkes.
1861. December 50. Cash payments suspended by banks in New York city and elsewhere.
1862. February 16. Fort Donelson surrendered to General Grant.
1862. March 9. Naval fight between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*.
1862. April. The National Guard of New York created by law in accordance with national requirements. Other states passed similar laws.
1862. April 6, 7. Battle of Pittsburg Landing (Shiloh).
1862. April 24. New Orleans surrendered to Admiral Farragut.
1862. July 1. The battle of Malvern Hill closed a seven days' struggle between General Lee and General McClellan.
1862. July 1. President Lincoln called for 300,000 volunteers.
1862. August 29, 30. The second battle of Bull Run.
1862. September 17. Battle of Antietam.
1862. October 8. Battle of Perryville.
1862. December 13. Battle of Fredericksburg.
1863. January 1. Proclamation of Emancipation issued by the President.
1863. May 2. Battle of Chancellorsville.
1863. June 19. West Virginia admitted to the Union.
1863. July 1–3. Battle of Gettysburg.
1863. July 4. Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant.
1863. July 8. Port Hudson surrendered, and the Mississippi River opened to its mouth.
1863. July 13–17. The draft riots occurred in New York city.
1863. September 19. Battle of Chickamauga.
1863. November 24, 25. Battle of Chattanooga.
1864. May 5–12. Battles in the Wilderness.
1864. June 19. Naval fight between the *Alabama* and the *Kearsarge*.
1864. July 11. The value of a gold dollar in New York city quoted at $2.85.
1864. August 5. Battle of Mobile Bay, with capture of forts by Admiral Farragut.
1864. September 1. Atlanta surrendered to General Sherman.
1864. October 19. Battle of Cedar Creek.
1864. October 31. Nevada admitted to the Union.
1864. November 16. General Sherman began his march from Atlanta to the sea.
1864. December 21. Savannah occupied by General Sherman.
1865. January 15. Fort Fisher taken by General Terry.
1865. February 18. Charleston occupied by General Sherman.
1865. April 1. Battle of Five Forks.

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1865. April 2. Richmond occupied by Union troops.
1865. April 9. The Army of Northern Virginia surrendered by General Lee to General Grant.
1865. April 14. President Lincoln assassinated in Washington City.
1865. April 15. Vice-President Andrew Johnson succeeded to the Presidency.
1865. April 26. General Johnston's army surrendered to General Sherman.
1865. May 10. Capture of Jefferson Davis.
1866. April 2. Proclamation by the President declaring the rebellion at an end.
1866. July 27. The second Atlantic cable completed.
1867. March 1. Nebraska admitted to the Union.
1867. October 9. Alaska transferred to the United States by Russia for $7,200,000.
1868. March 7. Beginning of the trial of President Johnson for impeachment.
1869. March 4. Ulysses S. Grant inaugurated President.
1869. May 10. The first transcontinental railroad completed by the junction of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads.
1870. The eighth census showed the population to be 38,558,783.
1870. First cable street-railway established in San Francisco, California, by Abner Doubleday.
1870. October 12. General Robert E. Lee died, aged sixty-three years.
1871. October 8. The business portion of Chicago, Illinois, destroyed by fire.
1872. June 15 to September 14. The Geneva Tribunal held meetings, at which $15,500,000 were awarded to the United States for Alabama claims.
1874. July 4. Great steel bridge built by James B. Eads across the Mississippi at St. Louis, Missouri, opened.
1875. February 9. The Hoosac Tunnel, Massachusetts, completed, then the longest in the United States and the second longest in the world.
1875. March 15. John McCloskey appointed the first Cardinal in the United States.
1876. May 10. Centennial World's Fair opened in Philadelphia by President Grant.
1876. August 1. Colorado admitted to the Union.
1877. March 5. Rutherford B. Hayes inaugurated President.
1877. March 15. The telephone exhibited by A. Graham Bell, and its trial between Boston, Massachusetts, and Salem, Massachusetts.
1878. October. The discovery of subdividing the electric current announced by Thomas A. Edison, thereby making incandescent lighting possible.
1879. January 1. Specie payments resumed by the United States Government.
1880. The tenth census showed the population to be 50,155,783.
1881. March 4. James A. Garfield inaugurated President.
1881. July 2. President Garfield assassinated in Washington City.
1881. September 20. Vice-President Chester A. Arthur succeeded to the Presidency.
1883. May 24. The East River Suspension Bridge, the longest in the world, opened.
1885. February 22. The Washington Monument dedicated in Washington City.
1885. March 4. Grover Cleveland inaugurated President.
1885. July 23. General Grant died in Mount MacGregor, New York, aged sixty-three.

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1886. August 31. Destructive earthquake at Charleston, S. C.
1889. February 11. Department of Agriculture created, with Norman J. Coleman as first Secretary.
1889. March 4. Benjamin Harrison inaugurated President.
1889. November 1. North Dakota admitted to the Union.
1889. November 2. South Dakota admitted to the Union.
1889. November 8. Montana admitted to the Union.
1889. November 11. Washington admitted to the Union.
1890. The eleventh census showed the population to be 62,662,250.
1890. July 3. Idaho admitted to the Union.
1890. July 11. Wyoming admitted to the Union.
1893. March 4. Grover Cleveland inaugurated President.
1893. May 1. The Columbian World's Fair opened in Chicago, Illinois.
1894. Wilson Tariff bill passed by Congress.
1894. February 28. Greater New York bill signed by the Governor.
1894. April 29. Coxey's army invaded Washington, D. C.
1894. July 4. Republic of Hawaii proclaimed.
1894. July 5. World's Fair buildings burned at Chicago.
1894. July 17. Utah made a State.
1894. August 8. The Hawaiian Republic officially recognized by the United States Government.
1894. November 1. The new "serum cure" (Anti-Toxin) announced by Dr. Roux.
1895. March 5. Steamship *Alliança* fired on by Spanish cruiser. Satisfaction demanded by United States and given by Spain.
1895. September 7–13. *Defender* won yacht race for America's cup against *Valkyrie III.*
1895. September 18. Cotton States and International Exposition opened at Atlanta, Georgia.
1896. May 27. A cyclone wrecked a part of St. Louis, Missouri, causing loss of many lives and much valuable property.
1896. August 28. Li Hung Chang arrived in New York.
1897. February 2. Pennsylvania State Capitol at Harrisburg burned.
1897. March 4. William McKinley inaugurated President of the United States.
1897. May 31. Severe earthquake shock felt in the Central States.
1897. September 14. Hawaiian Senate ratified treaty of annexation to the United States.
1898. February 15. United States battleship *Maine* blown up in the harbor of Havana.
1898. April 21. War began between the United States and Spain.
1898. May 1. Commodore Dewey destroyed Spanish fleet at Manila.
1898. July 3. Spanish fleet at Santiago destroyed by American vessels.
1899. February 1. American flag raised at Guam.
1899. February 10. Peace treaty with Spain signed by the President.

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1899. March 17. Windsor Hotel, New York, burned with great loss of life.
1899. June 12. Tornado killed 250 people at New Richmond, Wisconsin.
1899. September 29. Naval parade in New York harbor in honor of Admiral Dewey.
1900. January 6. Contract for New York City Rapid Transit Tunnel awarded.
1900. February 5. Hay-Pauncefote Treaty signed at Washington.
1900. June 30. Fire in Hoboken with heavy loss of life and property.
1900. September 8. Tornado at Galveston destroyed 7,000 lives and $30,000,000 in property.
1901. March 23. Aguinaldo, the insurgent leader of the Philippinos, captured.
1901. May 1. Pan-American Exposition opened at Buffalo.
1901. May 3. A great fire at Jacksonville, Florida; loss $10,000,000.
1901. May 30. Hall of Fame at New York University inaugurated.
1901. September 6. President McKinley died from his wounds. Vice-President Roosevelt took oath of office as President of the United States.
1901. September 24. Leon Czolgosz, the assassin of President McKinley, sentenced to death.
1901. October 4. *Shamrock II.* defeated in third race for the America's cup, by *Columbia.*
1901. October 29. Czolgosz, the assassin, executed at the Auburn State prison, New York.
1901. November 8. Isthmian Canal treaty between the United States and Great Britain signed.
1902. January 27. Dynamite explosion in Rapid Transit Tunnel, New York City.
1902. January 29. Andrew Carnegie gave $10,000,000 to the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.
1902. February 19. Treaty with Denmark for purchase of West Indian Islands ratified by the United States Senate.
1902. February 24. Prince Henry of Prussia visited the United States to attend the launching of Emperor William's Yacht *Meteor.*
1902. May 12. Anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania began.
1902. May 24. Rochambeau Statue at Washington, D. C., dedicated.
1902. July 4. Civil government in the Philippines established.
1092. November 8. Reciprocity treaty between the United States and New Found-land signed.
1902. December 13. Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant died in Washington, D. C.
1903. January 22. The Panama Canal Treaty between the United States and Colom-bia signed. Ratified by United States Senate March 19.
1903. February 14. Department of Commerce and Labor created.
1903. March 26. New York Legislature passed bill for the $101,000,000 canal improve-ment.
1903. April 30. Dedication of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition buildings at St. Louis.
1903. May 31. Great floods in Kansas with heavy loss of life and property.

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1903. July. Completion of the Pacific cable. President Roosevelt sent first message to Governor Taft at Manila.
1903. August 22 to September 3. *Reliance* won America cup in the yacht races.
1903. September 26 to October 2. Chicago celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its first settlement.
1903. October 8. A commercial treaty between the United States and China signed.
1903. October 17. The Alaska boundary question settled in favor of the United States.
1903. November 6. The United States Government recognized the independence of Panama.
1903. December 2. New Canal treaty with the United States ratified at Panama.
1903. December 30. Nearly 600 lives lost in the Iroquois Theatre fire in Chicago.
1904. February 7–8. Fire in Baltimore destroyed 2500 buildings valued at $90,000,000.
1904. March 11. One of the tunnels under the Hudson River completed.
1904. March 14. United States Supreme Court decided that the Northern Securities Company was a trust and therefore illegal.
1904. April 30. Louisiana Purchase Exposition opened at St. Louis, Mo.
1904. June 15. Excursion steamer, *General Slocum*, burned in the East River and over 1,000 persons, mostly women and children, were lost.
1904. June 23. Theodore Roosevelt nominated for President.
1904. October 27. New York Subway opened from City Hall to West 145th Street.
1904. November 19. Statue of Frederick the Great unveiled at Washington, D. C.
1905. January 29. Airship "California" flew 45 miles at Los Angeles, Cal.
1905. March 4. Theodore Roosevelt inaugurated President of the United States.
1905. April 14. Body of Paul Jones discovered in Paris by General Horace Porter.
1905. April 27. Andrew Carnegie gave $10,000,000 for a college professors' fund.
1905. May 11. A tornado at Snyder, Oklahoma, killed 100 people.
1905. May 28. Lewis and Clark Exposition opened at Portland, Oregon.
1905. June 30. John D. Rockfeller gave $10,000,000 for endowment of small colleges.
1905. July 1. John Hay, Secretary of State, died.
1905. July 16. Peary sailed from New York for the North Pole.
1905. September 5. Treaty of Peace signed at Portsmouth, N. H., by the Japanese and Russian envoys.
1906. January 25. Imperial Chinese Commission visiting this country, received by President Roosevelt.
1906. April 18. City of San Francisco destroyed by earthquake and fire, causing a loss of 250 lives, and about $250,000,000 in property.
1906. June 15. Enabling act to admit Oklahoma as a state, including Indian Territory, passed by Congress.
1906. June 29. The Railroad Rate bill, the Pure Food bill, and the Meat Inspection bill passed by Congress.

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Map of the UNITED S

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1906, July 22. Russell Sage died, leaving fortune of nearly $80,000,000.
1906, July 23. Pan-American Conference called by United States opened at Rio de Janeiro.
1906, August 8. Standard Oil Company indicted at Chicago for accepting rebates.
1906, August 13. Colored troops of United States army killed and wounded several persons in riot at Brownsville, Tex.
1906, August 24. President ordered simplified spelling in Government publications.
1906, September 8. President held great naval review at Oyster Bay.
1906, September 8. President Palma appealed to United States for intervention in Cuba.
1906, September 22. Atlanta, Ga., placed under martial law after anti-negro riots.
1906, September 29. United States intervention in Cuba proclaimed.
1906, October 2. Sugar Trust indicted in New York for taking rebates.
1906, October 12. Charles E. Magoon appointed provisional governor of Cuba.
1906, October 15. San Francisco excluded Japanese from regular public schools.
1906, October 16. Mrs. Jefferson Davis died in New York.
1906, November 8-26. President visited Panama City, Zone, and Canal.
1906, November 21. Colored battalion disbanded for the Brownsville (Tex.) riots.
1906, December 14. President withdrew simplified spelling order.
1907, February 7. John D. Rockefeller gave $32,000,000 to General Education Board.
1907, February 25. James Bryce received at Washington as British Ambassador.
1907, March 12. Mrs. Russell Sage gave $10,000,000 to improve social conditions.
1907, March 21. American marines landed in Honduras in threatening revolution.
1907, April 5. Andrew Carnegie gave $6,000,000 to Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.
1907, April 26. President opened Jamestown Tercentenary Exposition.
1907, August 3. Standard Oil Company fined $29,240,000 at Chicago for taking rebates.
1907, October 16. Secretary Taft opened first Philippine Assembly.
1907, October 17. First commercial wireless messages crossed the Atlantic.
1907, November 16. Oklahoma admitted as a State.
1907, December 16. Battleship fleet left Hampton Roads for the Pacific.
1908, January 15. Congress remitted $10,800,000 of Chinese "Boxer" indemnity.
1908, February 25. First tunnel between New York and New Jersey opened.
1908, May 13-15. Governors confer on conservation of natural resources, Washington.
1908, May 18. Congress restored "In God We Trust" to coins.
1908, May 30. President approved Act of Congress authorizing issue of $500,000,000 emergency currency to be retired at end of panic.
1908, June 18. William H. Taft, Republican, nominated for President.
1908, June 23. United States broke relations with Venezuela.
1908, June 24. Former President Grover Cleveland died.
1908, July 6. Robert E. Peary sailed again for the North Pole.
1908, July 10. William J. Bryan, Democrat, nominated for President.
1908, July 22. Court set aside $29,240,000 fine against Standard Oil.
1908, September 29-October 4. International Tuberculosis Congress held at Washington.
1908, November 3. Republicans carried Presidential election.
1908, November 4. Charles W. Eliot resigned Presidency of Harvard University.
1908, November 10. "North Dakota," 20,000 tons, largest battleship in United States navy, launched.

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1908, November 30. United States and Japan made agreement on Pacific Ocean affairs.

1909, January 11. Treaty for settlement of disputes between the United States and Canada was signed at Washington.

1909, January 13. Prof. Abbott L. Lowell was elected President of Harvard University.

1909, January 19. Elihu Root was elected a United States Senator from New York.

1909, February 13. President-elect Taft and special Board of Engineers decided against changing Panama Canal plans.

1909, February 22. President reviewed the returned battleship fleet at Hampton Roads.

1909, March 1. It was decided that President Taft's Cabinet would consist of Philander C. Knox (Pa.), Secretary of State; Franklin MacVeagh (Ill.), Secretary of the Treasury; Jacob M. Dickinson (Tenn.), Secretary of War; George von L. Meyer (Mass.), Secretary of the Navy; Richard A. Ballinger (Wash.), Secretary of the Interior; George W. Wickersham (N. Y.), Attorney-General; Frank H. Hitchcock (Mass.), Postmaster-General; Charles Nagel (Mo.), Secretary of Commerce and Labor; and James Wilson (Ia.), Secretary of Agriculture.

1909, March 4. William Howard Taft and James Schoolcraft Sherman were inaugurated President and Vice-President.

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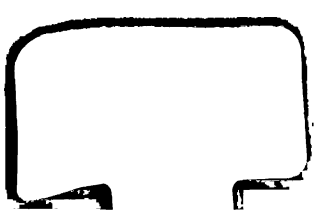

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